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Bishops as Governors: Diocesan Administration and Social Organization among the Late Elizabethan and Jacobean Episcopacy

by Stephanie Langton ©

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *Bishops as Governors: Diocesan Administration and Social Organization Among the Late Elizabethan and Jacobean Episcopacy* by Stephanie Langton in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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April 4, 2002

"What are we but members of one and the same community,
Whether of church or kingdom?
And what member is there that doth not willingly yield up itself to the preservation of the whole body? This natural intercourse there is between the very elements themselves, that each of them is ready to forsake his own place for the benefit and advantage of the universe."

- Bishop Joseph Hall (1574-1656)

Abstract

The late Elizabethan and early Jacobean episcopacy were an identifiable community of governors dedicated to the efficient management of both the spiritual and administrative needs of the diocese. Ecclesiastical administration was a well-organized, efficient, and even standardized, operative system of governance at the local, regional and national level. Bishops not only actively participated in the spiritual well-being of their parishioners but also in the diocesan administration of church personnel, property and finances. Bishops and diocesan officials used their own knowledge of a region and available local resources to fulfill their duties most beneficial to them and to their domain of governance. These 'structure of assistance' and administrative roles of the bishops and their officials contribute to the ecclesiastical policy and spiritual and practical governance of the Church of England.

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Preface

Over the past three years this thesis has been the focus of my academic endeavours at both the undergraduate and graduate level. My BA (Honours) thesis was the first comprehensive and detailed prosopographic study of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean prelacy examining their training, career paths and their social relations with their diocesan officials. It also suggested the importance of this community as a body of administrators, directing a powerful machinery of governance and influencing social networks and patronage systems within their diocese. My MA thesis refines the datasets, studies the decision-making structures (the administration at the diocesan level) and explores the historiographical significance of the study for our interpretation of the period's religious and political history. Scholars would readily agree that the early modern prelacy deserves further investigation but our historiography continues to focus on theological debates and doctrinal nuance rather than on the work of the bishop in his diocese. My primary proposition is that the bishop's administration of his diocese was closely associated with (and best understood in the context of) local customs, patronage patterns and social networks. Moreover, they were an identifiable community of governors who, like their secular counterparts, were knowledgeable not only in the administration of spiritual needs but also in the administration of practical managerial tasks, such as finances, courts, property and personnel within the Church of England. It is precisely the bishop's knowledge of the practical managerial tasks of church administration that has been overshadowed by the more dramatic episodes in the religious and political history of early modern England.

In my exploration of a bishop's administrative capabilities and the relationship between this administrative knowledge and his 'structures of assistance' (patronage systems and social networks) I have employed both quantitative and prosopographic methodologies. The former allows one to construct elaborate datasets for describing the demography, academic training, knowledge of secular and religious institutions and influences of local variations on a community with a common interest. The latter allows for a more descriptive analysis of the social relations and kinship structures of this community of governors. Prosopography, as explained in greater detail in Chapter I, has only recently become an accepted approach to the inquiry of the social dynamics of an identifiable community. It is through the application of these two methodologies that I aim to highlight the roles, skills and social networks of the prelacy in relation to their religious, political *and* administrative responsibilities within the diocese.

This work illustrates the need for critical examination and analysis of the bishop's actions in relation to the social demands of his diocese but also suggests that historians should address (and perhaps readdress) the methodological approaches and historiographical significance of the administrative work and local influence of the English episcopacy as a community of governors.

List of Abbreviations

Alum. Ox.	Alumni Oxonienses
Athen. Cantab.	Athenae Cantabrigienses
Athen. Ox.	Athenae Oxonienses
B. B.	*Biographia Britannica*
B. I. H. R.	*Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research*
Cal. Down. Mss.	Calendar Downame Manuscripts
Cal. Hast. Mss.	Calendar Hastings Manuscripts
Cal. Sal. Mss.	Calendar Salisbury Manuscripts
Cal. Wells. Mss.	Dean and Chapter of Wells Historical Manuscripts Commission
Camden	Camden Society
C. S. P. D.	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*
D. N. B.	*Dictionary of National Biography*
Hist. Mss. Comm.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
J. E. H.	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
Parl. Hist.	*Parliamentary History*
Parker	Parker Society
Surtees	Surtees Society

Table 1: English Episcopacy

Bishop	*Diocese*	*Consecrated Years*
Robert Abbot	Coventry & Lichfield	1609-1609
	London	1609-1610
	Canterbury	1610-1633
George Abbot	Salisbury	1615-1617
Lancelot Andrewes	Chichester	1605-1609
	Ely	1609-1619
	Winchester	1619-1626
John Aylmer	London	1576-1594
Gervase Babington	Llandaff	1591-1597
	Worcester	1597-1610
Richard Bancroft	London	1597-1604
	Canterbury	1604-1610
William Barlow	Rochester	1605-1608
	Lincoln	1608-1613
Richard Barnes	Carlisle	1570-1577
	Durham	1577-1587
Lewis Bayly	Bangor	1616-1631
Hugh Bellot	Bangor	1585-1595
	Chester	1595-1596
Richard Bennet	Hereford	1603-1617
Thomas Bilson	Worcester	1596-1597
	Winchester	1597-1616
John Bridgeman	Chester	1618-1652
John Bridges	Oxford	1604-1618
John Buckeridge	Rochester	1611-1628
	Ely	1628-1631
Valentine Carey	Exeter	1621-1626
George Carleton	Llandaff	1618-1619
	Chichester	1619-1628
William Chaderton	Chichester	1579-1595
	Lincoln	1595-1608
John Coldwell	Salisbury	1591-1595
Thomas Cooper	Lincoln	1570-1584
	Winchester	1584-1594
Henry Cotton	Salisbury	1598-1615
William Cotton	Exeter	1598-1621
Richard Cox	Ely	1559-1581
	Norwich	1559-1581
Richard Curteys	Chichester	1570-1582
John Davenant	Salisbury	1621-1641
Thomas Dove	Peterborough	1601-1630

Nicholas Felton	Bristol	1617-1618
	Ely	1618-1626
Theophilus Field	Llandaff	1619-1627
	St. David's	1627-1635
	Hereford	1635-1636
Richard Fletcher	Bristol	1589-1592
	Worcester	1592-1595
	London	1595-1598
Martin Fotherby	Salisbury	1612-1619
Francis Godwin	Llandaff	1601-1617
	Hereford	1617-1633
Thomas Godwin	Bath & Wells	1584-1590
Godfrey Goldsborough	Gloucester	1598-1604
Godfrey Goodman	Gloucester	1625-1656
Edmund Grindal	London	1559-1570
	Canterbury	1570-1583
John Hanmer	St. Asaph	1624-1629
Samuel Harsnett	Chichester	1609-1619
	Norwich	1619-2168
	York	1628-1631
Martin Heton	Ely	1598-1609
John Howson	Oxford	1619-1628
	Durham	1628-1632
Mathew Hutton	Durham	1589-1595
	York	1595-1606
William James	Durham	1606-1617
John Jegon	Norwich	1602-1618
John King	London	1611-1621
Arthur Lake	Bath & Wells	1616-1626
William Laud	St. David's	1621-1626
	Bath & Wells	1626-1628
	London	1628-1633
	Canterbury	1633-1645
George Lloyd	Sodor & Man	1600-1604
	Chester	1604-1615
Tobias Mathew	Durham	1595-1606
	York	1606-1628
John May	Carlisle	1577-1598
Richard Milbourne	St. David's	1615-1621
	Carlisle	1621-1624
James Montague	Bath & Wells	1608-1616
	Winchester	1616-1618

George Montaigne	Lincoln	1617-1619
	Winchester	1619-1621
	London	1621-1627
	Durham	1627-1628
	York	1628-1628
William Morgan	Llandaff	1595-1601
	St. Asaph	1601-1604
Thomas Morton	Chester	1615-1618
	Coventry & Lichfield	1618-1632
	Durham	1632-1659
Richard Neile	Rochester	1608-1610
	Coventry & Lichfield	1610-1614
	Lincoln	1614-1617
	Durham	1617-1627
	Winchester	1627-1631
	York	1631-1640
John Overall	Gloucester	1605-1614
	Coventry & Lichfield	1614-1618
	Norwich	1618-1619
William Overton	Coventry & Lichfield	1579-1609
Henry Parry	Gloucester	1606-1610
	Winchester	1610-1616
Richard Parry	St. Asaph	1604-1623
John Phillips	Sodor & Man	1605-1633
John Piers	Rochester	1576-1577
	Salisbury	1577-1589
	York	1589-1594
Thomas Ravis	Gloucester	1604-1607
	London	1607-1609
Henry Robinson	Carlisle	1598-1616
Henry Rowlands	Bangor	1598-1616
Anthony Rudd	St. David's	1594-1615
Edwin Sandys	Worcester	1559-1570
	London	1570-1576
	York	1576-1588
John Scory	Rochester	1551-1552
	Chichester	1552-1559
	Hereford	1559-1585
Rowland Searchfield	Bristol	1619-1622
Richard Senhouse	Carlisle	1624-1626
Miles Smith	Gloucester	1612-1624
Robert Snoden	Carlisle	1616-1621
John Still	Bath & Wells	1593-1608

John Thornborough	Limerick	1593-1603
	Bristol	1603-1616
	Winchester	1616-1641
Robert Townson	Salisbury	1620-1621
John Underhill	Oxford	1589-1592
Richard Vaughan	Bangor	1595-1597
	Chester	1597-1604
	London	1604-1607
Anthony Watson	Chichester	1596-1605
Herbert Westfaling	Hereford	1585-1602
John Whitgift	Worcester	1577-1583
	Canterbury	1583-1604
William Wickham	Lincoln	1584-1595
	Winchester	1595-1595
John Williams	Lincoln	1621-1641
	York	1641-1650
Robert Wright	Bristol	1622-1632
	Coventry & Lichfield	1632-1643
John Young	Rochester	1578-1605

Table 2: Miscellaneous Irish & Scottish Episcopacy

Bishop	*Diocese*	*Consecrated Years*
Alexander Forbes	Caithness	1604-1616
	Aberdeen	1616-1617
Adam Loftus	Armagh & Dublin	1563-1605
James Ussher	Meath	1621-1625
	Armagh	1625-1655
	Carlisle	1642-1655

Chapter I Historiographical Debate

1. Two Areas of Recent Reconstruction

Questions concerning the religious belief and practice of the parishioners and the spiritual governance of the Church of England between the 1580s and the 1620s have dominated the recent study of early modern English history. Since the 1980s the reformed church and the religious atmosphere of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England have received much attention among early modern historians.[1] These historians have focused their research on two distinct, yet fundamentally inseparable, categories of historiographical debate: namely, the entrenchment of Protestantism among the parishioners in the localities and the broader ecclesiastical policies of the clerical elite, the monarch and the episcopacy.[2] Both of these categories of investigation, dealing with different aspects of religion and church policies, contribute to our understanding of the religious character and structure of the Church of England. Those responsible for establishing the framework of the Church and those who found themselves receiving the instruction of church policies provide valuable evidence for the religious and social world of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England. However, because this period of English history was, for the most part, one of 'unity among diversity,' with its prominent figures working to maintain this unity and a future stability, the bishops and their ecclesiastical policies will be the focus of this study. The late Elizabethan and early Stuart bishops, as prominent figures in both the religious and political spheres, worked to promote and maintain ecclesiastical programs and liturgical observances within the same underlying aims. That bishops shared common goals of stability and national unity affects broader historiographical debates because it undermines a whiggish presumption that early modern English society was riddled with both political conflict and spiritual strife. Although episcopal relations with political leaders and diocesan officials were at times tenuous, their relations were based on a system of reciprocity, mutual support and common understanding. Therefore, we are invited to see a long period characterized by largely cooperative secular and religious leaders where the dominant theme was consensus not conflict.

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[1] See Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* (Oxford,1982), *Birthpangs of Protestant England* (London, 1988), *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583: the Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979), Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), and *Anglicans or Puritans? Presbyterian and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988).

[2] The debate over the religious observance and practice of the parishioners has usually been directed towards doctrinal and liturgical issues. The rejections and reforms advanced by the learned ministry, along with their willingness, or unwillingness, to adhere to the established Calvinist Church of England, also contributes to the debates surrounding the religious experience in the localities. See Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998) and Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*. While the enquiry into the religious sentiment of the localities focuses on more specific issues of doctrine, ceremonies and ritual, historians of the Elizabethan and Jacobean church concentrate on its development by examining the leading figures of church personnel. The archdeacons, bishops and archbishops were responsible for defining, propagating and maintaining church doctrine, at the monarch's discretion, and for ensuring that people in the parishes and dioceses complied with the ecclesiastical policies of the established church. See Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990), Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998) and Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetoric of Conformity 1603-1625* (California, 1998).

2. Three Historical Interpretations

As the study of the religious belief, practices and policies of the episcopacy greatly affects the historiography of early modern religion and church policies, historians must become familiar with the ideologies and assumptions prevalent in the scholarly literature. Methodological approaches to the study of early modern religious history are as crucial for interpretation and understanding as the content which they attempt to explain. The approach adopted not only influences ones understanding of past events but, more importantly, the type of conclusions that one will draw from the sources.

'Whiggism', 'revisionism' and, most recently, 'post-revisionism' represent the three historiographical trends that prevail in the secondary literature. The revisionist and post-revisionist interpretations have become, in the past two decades, the dominant ideological approaches adopted for historical inquiry, yet the whig interpretation cannot be neglected. Many of its tenets and assumptions are still engrained within the historiography of early modern religious history and continue to shape our understanding of the people and policies of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart church.

It was Samuel R. Gardiner who first made whig history an academic pursuit. Ever since his profoundly influential, even seminal, whiggish interpretation of the 1880s, the debate surrounding early modern England has acted as a test bed for professional approaches to British history. He searched for the causes of important historical events and therefore saw "the events from 1603 to 1642 as a pathway if not the highway to the civil war."[3] Gardiner relied on tension and oppositional forces to interpret early Stuart England as a period of conflict reaching its climax in the English civil war.[4] Likewise, subsequent historians have followed Gardiner in viewing early modern England as racked by structural weakness, factional interest and intrigue.[5] These whig historians construct a pattern of progression from the past to the present, reaching a predetermined telos. The result is that history becomes molded to resemble the historians' own analysis rather than letting the sources determine the final conclusions.[6] Not only does whig history explain the past with reference to the present; it also attempts to explain the development of the modern Western world.[7] These fundamental principles of whig history hinder the ability of an historian to assess the period in its own context.

While whig narratives follow a pattern of gradual progression from past to present, revisionists (or anti-whigs) deny the accuracy of such a neatly organized view of history. G. R. Elton was the first to seriously challenge the thesis of Gardiner and his influence over the writing and interpretation of early modern England.[8] Rejecting whig teleology, revisionism eschews ideas of progress and determinism, rising or declining forces, oppositions and the use of hindsight. Revisionism attempts to reexamine evidence and interpretations that "seemed all too clear-cut."[9] Many scholars have been persuaded, and believe that past interpretations of history have been over-simplified or misinterpreted.[10]

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[3] J. H. Hexter, "The Early Stuarts and Parliament: Old Hat and Nouvelle Vague," *Parliamentary History* 1 (1982), p. 182.

[4] Gardiner opens his history of the Great Civil War by establishing the final outcome of a society in conflict: "The civil war…was rendered inevitable by the inadequacy of the intellectual methods of the day to effect a reconciliation between opposing moral and social forces," Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* Vol. I (London, 1904), p. 1. Also see his *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (London, 1884).

[5] Historians such as R. H. Tawney, H. R. Trevor-Roper, Christopher Hill and Lawrence Stone all followed the whig notions of history established by Gardiner. Tawney interpreted the early modern period as a society in transition in which the rise of the gentry and class transformations led to political disorder. Trevor-Roper attacked Tawney's thesis of a rising gentry; for him the gentry were in decline and, were therefore, more likely to revolt. Hill asserted that the rise of the middle class resulted in conflict between the bourgeoisie and the state. Finally, Stone, up to the 1990s, continued to interpret early Stuart England as the beginning of the rise of the modern democratic state. See R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, 1926), Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London, 1972), Christopher Hill, *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1974), Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution* (London, 1972), *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965) and Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (New York, 1996).

[6] Whiggery places more emphasis upon hindsight than on the sources themselves: "The story we have told has been seen through the distorting medium of hindsight," Conrad Russell, *Unrevolutionary England* (London, 1990), p. xv.

Along lines similar to revisionism, post-revisionism stresses the importance of examining the seventeenth century on its own terms and of reexamining the sources that have been misinterpreted, or neglected, by whig historians. However, this is not to say that revisionists and post-revisionists agree on methods of inquiry. To a certain extent, post-revisionists have returned to many of the tenets of whiggish and marxist claims about the role of the historical discipline while stopping short of completely embracing them.[11] Richard Cust and Anne Hughes have accused revisionists of rejecting any long-term factors and the possibility of social and religious conflicts due to their

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[7] "the crisis in England in the seventeenth century is the first 'Great Revolution' in the history of the world, and therefore an event of fundamental importance in the evolution of Western Civilization," Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution*, p. 147.

[8] "Elton had shot down all the authorities in the early Stuart field from Gardiner on, a century of history writing," J. H. Hexter, "The Early Stuarts and Parliament," p. 192. In contrast to the whig interpretation of history, Elton suggested that "conservatism and continuity may be much more in evidence than radicalism and revolution," Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revisited* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 24.

[9] Thomas Cogswell, "Coping with Revisionism in Early Stuart England," *Journal of Modern History* 62 (1990), p. 544.

[10] "The whig version of history particularly lends itself to generalization and to vague philosophizing," Herbert Butterfield, *Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931) p. 100.

[11] An example of a post-revisionist interpretation that attempts to find a common ground between revisionism and whiggism is Alexandra Walsham, "The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Catholics and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49 (1998). Walsham argues in favour of an Arminian presence before the rise of Laud, suggesting that his policies were, as Haigh has also suggested, a continuation of popular support by the parishioners. However, this attempt to find a middle ground between whig and revisionist interpretations results in a contradiction. Walsham contradicts Haigh's argument that Catholicism was not easily swept aside by the Tudor reformations yet her argument is built upon the justification of Laudian practices as having 'popish roots' during the time of the reformation until the 1620s: "conformists who pressed for ritual and ceremony in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were not disgruntled church papists but loyal Prayer Book Protestants," *ibid*, p. 636. However, she then supports the notion that late Elizabethan and early Stuart England "was certainly an environment in which conservative opinions died hard and lingered long," *Ibid*, p. 648. She does not explain the differences, if there are any, between her idea of 'popish' Laudianism and the continuation of post-reformation Catholic and ceremonial practices.

association with past whig assumptions.[12] However, revisionists do not deny that long-term factors existed, nor do they reject the possibility of conflict.[13] They support the notion that tensions and conflict existed within a broad and stable framework of general consensus. This idea of 'unity among diversity' suggests that the political and religious system of early Stuart England was able to incorporate conflicts within its broad structure of state and ecclesiastical governance. The post-revisionist camp claims that "such a consensus never existed."[14] If a general consensus did not exist in early modern England, in a period characterized by diverse opinions about religion among the populace, not to mention among the episcopacy, then what was responsible for maintaining a working and harmonious system of ecclesiastical governance?[15]

3. Continuing the Revisionist Trend

Following the revisionist trend, one topic of recent re-examination has been King James VI and I, specifically his character and his policies in both state and church. The character and policies of James I are deemed crucial for understanding not only his own period but also the later developments under King Charles I, the Civil War, interregnum and the 'glorious revolution.' Jenny Wormald has denounced the nostrums of whig history by concluding that James I was a 'political realist' who understood that *unus rex* represented the only element of the trio, *unus rex*, *unus grex* and *una lex*, that could successfully exist within all three kingdoms over which he ruled. Wormald clearly refutes the old view of James as unsubtle in policy: "Between 1603 and 1625, both in church and state, England, Scotland and Ireland were presided over by a ruler who did not see security in precision and conformity."[16] This view of James's sophisticated policy of governance attacks the heart of the whig view that James I was a despot aiming to rule over all ecclesiastical and secular affairs of the state.

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[12] Cust and Hughes argue that long-term causes did exist: "We shall argue that there were long-term ideological and social tensions in England," Richard Cust and Anne Hughes, *Conflict in Early Stuart England* (London, 1989), p. 17. They also argue that "conflict and division were thus perfectly possible within the intellectual framework of Early Stuart England," *Ibid*, p. 18.

[13] Although Kenyon critiques several of Conrad Russell's arguments along revisionist lines, he does acknowledge, and even commend, Russell for not entirely dismissing long-term causation: "On Russell's behalf we must make the point that his interpretation does allow for long-term causes," John Kenyon, "Revisionism and Post-Revisionism in Early Stuart History," *Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992), p. 699. Lake's article "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I," in Linda Levy Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 113-33 also supports a continuity of conformist views. "The evidence yielded by the record offices does not demolish a whiggish version of English Reformations. Rather the new material puts the old into context: it adds perspective and balance," Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformations Revisited*, p. 19.

[14] Richard Cust and Anne Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, p. 24.

[15] The assertion among post-revisionists of a lack of general consensus fails to explain why the civil war did not occur earlier than it did: "The fact that civil war did not come for another fifteen months is a deep tribute, both to the stability of English society, and to the skill of English politicians," Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 294-5.

In the light of new appreciation for the character and diplomacy of James I, Malcolm Smuts has re-examined the Jacobean royal court. Smuts argues that the heterogeneous nature of James I's religious policy resembled the structure and political world of his court: "Jacobean court culture will always be misunderstood so long as scholars portray the court as a homogeneous body dominated by a single outlook."[17] The continuing examination of James's personality, his policy management and the court has built upon the revisionist approach to early modern British history.

Historians have turned their attention most recently to the king's religious policies. W. B. Patterson has re-assessed the character of James I within a religious context by ascribing to him the skills of a shrewd politician having an aptitude for flexibility on issues of religion.[18] Patterson demonstrates that James I maintained and developed Elizabeth's religious policy of the 'via media' and, arguably, James I endorsed this program explicitly and with a more successful outcome. Patterson concludes that if James I was not able to find a sufficient common ground, on either secular or ecclesiastical issues, he sought at least to foster accommodation.

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[16] Jenny Wormald, "James VI, James I and the Identity of Britain," in B. Bradshaw and J. Morrill (eds.), *The British Problem, 1534-1707* (New York, 1996), p. 170. Wormald denounces the belief of whig historians that James I was "an insensitive Scot [who] was so crassly indifferent to his good fortune in becoming king of England that he arrived in London with a Scottish entourage and insisted that his new English Subjects should embrace them," *Ibid*, pp. 148-9.

[17] Malcolm Smuts, "Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I," in Linda Levy Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, p. 111. Smuts describes the Jacobean court as deliberately designed to accommodate a diversity of ideas: "Jacobean court culture was far less cohesive than that of either Elizabeth's reign or Charles's reign," *Ibid*, p. 99.

[18] "James I drew upon a wealth of political experience," W. B. Patterson, *King James I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 35; "After the discovery of the gunpowder plot, King James modified the conciliatory policy towards his Roman Catholic subjects," *Ibid*, p. 76.

The reanalysis of James I and his royal court leads to a general reassessment of early Jacobean religion and of the Church of England. Patrick Collinson, Judith Maltby, Peter Lake, Kenneth Fincham and others have studied early Jacobean and late Elizabethan religious issues. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake have looked at the religious programs of the monarchs and their bishops. Important recent advancements have been made concerning the relation of the episcopacy to that of the monarch and on the nature of diocesan government. Nevertheless, the religious policies of both monarch and, especially, the bishops remain underexplored.

Patrick Collinson has studied the religious tendencies, practices and ideologies of all levels of English society under Elizabeth I and James I. He has successfully elaborated upon the religious thoughts of the broad population in early modern England – a topic Gardiner stated needed more research and explanation.[19] He describes late Tudor and early Stuart England as a nation developing its own self-consciousness and awareness as a distinct personality from the rest of Europe. Collinson concludes that the Church of England worked to accommodate 'voluntary religions'[20] within its structure over a period of two to three generations and he also sees Protestantism as the religion associated with the national interest. Collinson's final assessment of the nature of the early Jacobean Church discredits the whig view that James I pursued a strict doctrinal program.

Although Collinson focused his studies on the religion of the broad populace, he has directed some attention to the religious policies and programs implemented by the monarch and the episcopacy. We should no longer underestimate the importance of the episcopacy to the religious, social and political fabric of early modern Britain: "In a climate congenial to further reformation, monarchy and episcopacy were regarded not only as the guarantors of order and stability but as instruments of energetic and creative reform."[21] As bishops were important in the social, political and religious aspects of everyday life, understanding the roles and programs of the bishops is crucial for early modern historians. Nevertheless, "the role of the bishop in the Elizabethan church…is elusive."[22] The study of the roles of the bishops, episcopacy and the ecclesiastical policy of the Church of England is in an undeveloped state and deserves further examination.

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[19] "I wish I had been able to penetrate more deeply into the thoughts and feelings of the mass of the nation," Gardiner as cited in Nicholas Tyacke, "Popular Puritan Mentality in Late Elizabethan England," in Patrick Collinson (ed.), *Godly People: Essays on English Puritanism and Protestantism* (London, 1983), p. 550.

[20] "The Jacobean church had the capacity to contain within its loose and sometimes anomalous structures vigorous forms of voluntary religious expression," Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 282.

[21] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 282; also see his *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (London, 1988).

4. 'Prelates as Pastors'

It was Kenneth Fincham who provided us, for the first time, with a detailed study of the programs, policies, roles, pastoral concerns and administrative duties of the bishops between 1558 and 1642. Fincham has shifted attention away from doctrine (e.g. predestination) to "contentious issues: conformity, order, worship, clerical authority and wealth."[23] He has deployed the revisionist interpretation of James I, his character, court and his policies upon the religious framework and episcopal governance of the early Stuart period. Fincham's assessment of the early Jacobean episcopacy and Church of England has laid a secure foundation for the study of late Elizabethan and early Jacobean episcopal structure, duties and policy.

Fincham has altered the historiographical landscape and, subsequently, historians have begun to accept that although theological pluralism existed amid the episcopate, it was a unified body of men working alongside the king. In *Prelate as Pastor*, Fincham applies the theme of 'unity among diversity' to the secular and ecclesiastical policy of James I and in doing so concludes that the Jacobean Church represented "a unified church incorporating a wide spectrum of theological opinion."[24] James I sought to establish a practical balance between his bishops and their differing theological views and opinions on the structure and governance of the episcopacy. He used the "maximum range of advice and ample room for political manoeuvring."[25] James appointed bishops with specific theological beliefs to counteract or to add symmetry to a diocese that held particular theological beliefs and practices.

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[22] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 2.

[23] Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (Basingstoke, 1993), p. 1.

[24] Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 25. "He [Wren] and Laud evidently co-operated closely encouraged by a king who sought harmony not division among his trusted servants, both clerical and lay," Kenneth Fincham, "William Laud and the Exercise of Caroline Ecclesiastical Patronage," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2000), p. 83.

[25] *Ibid*, p. 25.

One important conclusion which challenges previous perceptions is that James I and his bishops, despite differences in theological observances, worked to maintain a common ecclesiastical program. "Princes and Prelates were bound together by ties of mutual respect and interest."[26] The monarch and the bishops understood the benefits of working together.

Although Fincham's *Prelate as Pastor* is the first complete study dedicated to the ecclesiastical policies and roles of the early Stuart bishops, several other historians have attempted to understand the religious politics of the bishops, the court and the monarch. Research has focused upon several topics, such as the theological and academic training of the bishops, the regional and demographic trends in the prelates' placement and advancements, and the geography and character of their diocese. These can provide direct evidence of a bishop's ecclesiastical policies and personal charisma as a leader in the Church of England. Other areas of examination, including the social relations among all levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the court and political spectrums, patronage networks, the purpose and uniformity of the visitation, and the local perception of the episcopacy and ecclesiastical policy provide substantial evidence about the programs of the individual bishops. Together these topics can greatly contribute to our understanding of the religious policies and administrative capabilities of the early Stuart Church.

The roles adopted by early Stuart bishops recently became an area of attention. Kenneth Fincham challenged previous assumptions that "the diocesan government of the reformed episcopate was at best uninteresting, at worst insignificant,"[27] and he sought to revise previous claims which have dominated our understanding of the purpose and function of the episcopate under Elizabeth I and James I.[28] Understanding the roles of early Stuart bishops has great pertinence to the study of early modern British history as it is not limited to the domain of early Stuart England; it contributes to the broader historiographical debates about the conversion of England to Protestantism ("which was still in progress after 1603"[29]) and about anti-Calvinist trends: "Laudian churchmanship had its intellectual roots in the church of James I, if not earlier."[30] An examination of the roles of bishops helps us understand Laudian policies, the rise of Arminianism,[31] the character and religious policies of the first two Stuart monarchs and the factional struggles of the 1630s, all of which have dominated recent historiography.

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[26] *Ibid*, p. 49.

[27] *Ibid*, p. 1.

[28] Fincham's thesis of the 'prelate as pastor' attempts to refute "Hugh Trevor-Roper's influential essay of 1955 which identified the episcopate of 1610-28 as a group of time-serving careerists who ignored their spiritual responsibilities," *Ibid*, p. 1.

Because so much is seen to be at stake, Fincham draws our attention to the roles of early Stuart bishops, most notably the bishop as pastor, as a neglected area of research.[32] He selects John Jewel as the Elizabethan prelate whom early Jacobean bishops took as their model for evangelical prelacy: "Their exemplar was probably not Edmund Grindal, but John Jewel."[33] According to Fincham the pastoral bishop displayed a sense of courtesy[34] among all his relations and extended hospitality[35] to his flock and diocesan officials. He describes Mathew of York, Abbot of Canterbury, and bishops John King, Arthur Lake, Thomas Morton and Henry Robinson as ideal preaching pastors whose "commitment to spread the gospel stood at the center of their government."[36] Fincham describes these prelates as pastors and peacekeepers for the Church of England, demonstrating a strong responsibility for the well being of their flock, and as preachers of the word.[37] They were also an important component of the "commissioners of peace, preachers, lords of parliament and provincial agents for the crown."[38] Moreover, the prelate as pastor supported and showed sympathy towards non-conformist preachers, so long as they did not pose any serious threat to the stability of the religious landscape of England.[39] Finally, these leaders of the church maintained good relations with the laity and city corporations: "Bishops…preserved good relations with city corporations, and the same conciliatory spirit is evident in Lake's role as royal tax-collector."[40] Bishops not only responded favourably to their flock but many praises and compliments were given to them by the clergy and the laity.[41] Fincham concludes that the model of bishop as pastor was the "dominant position of evangelical government among the Jacobean episcopacy."[42]

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[29] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[30] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[31] "The immediate origins of the bishop as Custodian of Order go back to the 1590s, that pivotal decade in the history of the reformed Church of England," *Ibid*, p. 288.
[32] Fincham argues the need for further research on early Stuart bishops: "It is a startling fact, therefore, that we still know little about the pastoral work of its [the Church of England's] nominal leaders, the bench of bishops," *Ibid*, p. 1; "we need to establish the character of a bishops' pastoral work," *Ibid*, p. 3. Studying the roles of bishops will give greater insight into the relationship between the bishop and his diocesan officials, clergy, lay population and the monarch; personal character, behaviour, beliefs and actions of the bishop; the theological practices and agendas of the bishop; intensity of support for the Church of England and for royal supremacy; the relationship between the bishop and the parliament and his commitment to secular and spiritual duties; and finally, the bishops' ecclesiastical policy in relation to that of other prelates and to that of the monarch.
[33] *Ibid*, p. 275. Jewel had "the undisputed status as the first champion of the Elizabethan church," *Ibid*, p. 275. George Abbot, at the consecration of his brother in 1615, instructed Robert's new flock to "promise themselves in you to find their Jewell againe," *Ibid*, p. 276. Insofar as Jewel was the model for the later Jacobean episcopacy, it suggests that the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean bishops held a similar concept of episcopal duties and leadership.
[34] "The model of the preaching pastor also placed a high premium on episcopal courtesy," *Ibid*, p. 5.
[35] Early Stuart bishops "also provided, as far as we can judge, a satisfactory level of hospitality," *Ibid*, p. 5.
[36] *Ibid*, p. 253.

There are, however, several difficulties with Fincham's analysis of the prelate as pastor. He states that the bishop's role as preaching pastor was, in theory, derived from "his familiarity with parochial and diocesan life as from his readings of scripture and the patristics."[43] However, in practice, the prelate's image as shepherd was open to different interpretations and was difficult to secure and promote within the structure of the Church of England and among the religious faith of its ecclesiastical and lay participants.[44] These difficulties dog his thesis of the prelate as pastor. It also appears that his analysis (and therefore his thesis) revolves around models, ideals (and the fallacy) of the 'norm.' Collinson suggests that we must be careful when classifying members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as ideal types. When describing the professional and godly minister as ideals he states that "our ideal types and the values they represent were liable to coalesce in curious mixtures."[45] He places more emphasis upon the structure of the diocesan government than on the specific roles of the bishops and their relationships with members of their diocesan government. Examining of the relations between the bishop and other members of the social hierarchy would help to clarify the roles and functions of the episcopacy under Elizabeth and James I. This type of study would allow us to more fully understand the influence of the bishops' ecclesiastical policies on the religious, social and political world of early Stuart England.

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[37] "The bishop was the superintendent of the clergy, the pastor of pastors, a responsibility which stood at the heart of the office," *Ibid*, p. 177.

[38] *Ibid*, p. 147.

[39] "They [bishops] happily endorsed James I's accommodating attitude to 'moderate' nonconformity," *Ibid*, p. 257.

[40] *Ibid*, p. 262.

[41] In a sermon preached in 1615, John Sanford stated the importance of a harmonious and mutually co-operative relationship between the bishop and his subjects: "let it not be a just complaynt of learnyng and honesty and that *sub habitu clericali* find as small encouragement and countenance in bishops pallaces as in laymans houses," *Ibid*, p. 262.

[42] *Ibid*, p. 274. The early Stuart episcopacy "tackled their pastoral responsibilities with vigour and flair," *Ibid*, p. 32.

[43] *Ibid*, p. 22. "The Council of Trend repeated the words of St. Gregory of Nazianzen in its decree that the ministration of the word was the chief responsibility of the episcopate, *Ibid*, p. 11.

[44] Several statements within *Prelate as Pastor* undermine Fincham's thesis of prelates as pastors: "Both the character of the Episcopal office and the institutional structure of the early Stuart church were a far cry from the Pauline ideal," *Ibid*, p. 13; "The character of diocesan government, moreover, was more judicial and institutional than pastoral and personal," *Ibid*, p. 16.

An examination of the roles of bishops helps to clarify the much-debated issue of the rise of Arminianism. Fincham categorizes the bishops whose theological underpinnings follow that of Arminius as 'custodians of order.'[46] According to Fincham, the 'custodians of order' were limited in influence and were unable to take further measures against puritan nonconformity due to James I's policy of accommodation. This is not to say that they did not represent a prominent and continuous element within the episcopacy. Peter Lake has argued that there was an ideological continuity between Hooker, Andrewes and Laud.[47] The continuous presence of an Arminian camp on the bench of bishops has undermined Nicholas Tyacke's claim that the rise of Arminianism in the 1620s was a dominant cause of the tensions leading to the civil war.[48] Fincham asks us to see a linkage between Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy and that of James: "immediate origins of the bishop as 'custodian of order' go back to the 1590s."[49] The connections between the Elizabethan and Jacobean episcopacy help us to see a corporation of bishops promoting a fairly similar ecclesiastical policy.

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[45] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 107.

[46] Fincham states that the anti-Calvinist premises of the custodians of order distinguish them from other bishops who were similarly advocates of order and hierarchy. Whitgift supported ecclesiastical hierarchy and order, however, "his opponents were the Presbyterians, rather than the Calvinists, and he was firmly attached to the preaching character of the Episcopal office," *Prelate as Pastor*, pp. 287-8. This is also consistent with his vice-chancellorship in the period before Elizabeth elevated him. 'Custodians of order' were against excessive preaching and nonconformity, staunch supporters of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and avid supporters and promoters of royal supremacy: "ceremonial nonconformity and opposition to Episcopal government" *Ibid*, p. 284, were seen as great offenses to the Church of England.

[47] See Peter Lake, "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I," p. 131.

[48] See Nicholas Tyacke, "Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution," in Conrad Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War*, pp. 119-143; Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Laudianism and Political Power," in his *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 40-119.

The ecclesiastical policies of the bishops have been interpreted and classified by their contemporaries and early modern historians based on a number of factors[50] including their theological preferences and their own vision and place within the Church of England. Labels such as Calvinist and anti-Calvinist, anti-Puritan, reformers, Evangelical and Arminian and Formalist and Sacramentalist have dominated the historiographical literature of late Tudor and early Stuart British religious history. Most whig interpretations of Laud's ecclesiastical policies suggested that he and the Arminians were revolutionaries wanting to reform the Church to its pre-reformation status and to 'reverse history.'[51] Laud was instead trying to improve unity and conformity within the Church of England in accordance with his own understanding of ecclesiastical policy.[52]

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[49] Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 288. "Elizabeth had already exacted her full measure of service: by the 1580s most bishops were commissioners of peace…privy council registers show a similar amount of business being referred to the episcopate from the 1580s to the 1620s…what had changed was the status of the episcopate," *Ibid*, p. 110.

[50] Factors also included the actions and reforms of the bishop, the bishop's support of royal supremacy and hierarchy, the concept of 'beauty of holiness' and ceremonial features of the liturgy and within the physical establishment of the church and the interest in their diocese.

[51] "Protestantism, Patriotism, parliamentarism and property all worked together against Laud's attempt to reverse history," Christopher Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 343.

[52] Tom Webster states that Laud did not reform the machinery of the visitation but merely intensified it. Concerning Laud's church policy, Lori-Anne Ferrell concludes that the concept of 'beauty of holiness' cannot be attributed uniquely to Laud and the Arminians. See Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c. 1620-1645* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 187-203 and Ferrell, *Government by Polemic*, p. 167. In 1607 Bishop Fotherby described the concept of the 'beauty of holiness' in a sermon an entire generation before Laud: "Such fixations on the scenic apparatus of the church were neither a 1630s phenomenon nor exclusive in this period to the precocious clerics Lancelot Andrewes and Buckeridge," Lori Anne Ferrell *Government by Polemic*, p. 85; Peter Lake, "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I," and Nicholas Tyacke's *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). It is important to understand the terminology of contemporaries and of historians who attempt to classify the roles and ecclesiastical policies of the early Stuart episcopacy. Reformers could imply that bishops such as Laud, Andrewes and Neile were anti-Calvinists (against a preaching ministry) who sought to strengthen episcopal authority while bishops such as Bancroft and Whitgift who were anti-Presbyterian bishops supported a preaching ministry. Both groups sought to strengthen the Church of

Within the Church of England, the monarch and the bishops each promoted their own interpretation of ecclesiastical policy. Ferrell concludes that James I set the agenda about the ecclesiastical policy and the tenor of the sermons presented to him. However, she contradicts herself earlier in her work by stating that "James I was a kind of a cipher in court sermons."[53] How could James I be the instigator and promoter of ecclesiastical policy if, as Ferrell suggests, he "lost control of the language of the pulpits?"[54] Both Collinson and Peter McCullough argue that James I was very much in control of both his political and religious policies.[55] Early Stuart bishops relied as much upon the crown, while at times criticizing it, as the monarch relied on bishops to advance and support his political aims and the royal supremacy. Exactly what were the ecclesiastical policies propounded by Elizabeth I and James I and by their scholarly retinue of religious and state governors?

5. Relevant Subject Areas

Several areas of study must be acknowledged as important, and although I will not be discussing these areas in detail, the historian of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart church should be aware of them; these are the issues of ecclesiastical property, and local community perceptions of ecclesiastical policy and of the Church of England. An examination of local and regional support for ecclesiastical policies illustrates the relations between the prelacy and lower ecclesiastical officials. This will determine which levels of society were affected by the programs of the bishop and the breadth of influence these ecclesiastical policies were felt among those living under the rule of the Church of England.

Debates about the centers and the localities, the bishops and their flock and the gentry and the laity have long dominated much research into the early Stuart church. Recent work has shifted from issues of locality and center to the

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England, improve the training and qualifications of those working within the Church and secure a more uniform consensus among episcopal policies.

[53] Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic*, p. 45. Although Fincham makes several conclusions regarding Charles I, the same can be said about James I: "Charles I and James I before him on occasion selected bishops without prompting from Laud or anyone else;" "to portray Charles I as simply a cipher is not credible," "William Laud and the Exercise of Caroline Ecclesiastical Patronage," pp. 80, 91. "Clearly the king [Charles I] set the ground rules," p. 91.

[54] *Ibid*, p. 164.

[55] "It would be absurd to suggest that either Elizabeth or James was a cipher when it came to ecclesiastical preferments," Patrick Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p. 2;

relationships, interactions and more subtle qualitative differences among all levels of society. Historians such as Fincham and Webster suggest that the changing perceptions of the Church of England and the changing status of both the clergy and episcopacy meant that a successful description of early Stuart religious and political history cannot be achieved by relying upon two oppositional forces.[56]

Early Stuart bishops were also landowners and most laymen encountered the bishop as landlord. The amount of energy a bishop attached to the temporalities of his see affected his ecclesiastical policies and the time and commitment he provided with which to advance his policies within his diocese and among his officials.[57] The exchange, sales and alterations of episcopal property influenced the amount of travel a bishop was able to achieve throughout his diocese. This in turn influenced his ability to establish relations with some locations of his diocese and influenced his availability and presence among his parishioners.

The parishioners' perception of the episcopacy, along with that of diocesan officials, are two areas in need of further research. Contemporaries were on a different path towards their own vision and understanding of the Church of England and the role of the bishop as interpreter of its doctrine. That there was a "change of ecclesiological emphasis"[58] is becoming increasingly clear. We can then ask the following questions. What exactly were the ecclesiastical policies of the early Stuart bishops? How were these policies dispersed and implemented among early Stuart ecclesiastical and lay society?

"James himself was the final arbitrator of court-sermon matters," Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 2, 115.

[56] As Tom Webster puts it "the details of a struggle between ecclesiastical centre and localities are less important [and less significant] than the recognition…that there were alternative mechanisms of prestige and advancement in the church," Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*, p. 41. McCullough concludes that "James's patronage of court sermons could…be seen as contributing to the growing estrangement of court and city," Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 132. McCullough is not suggesting that court and city were immersed within tension but rather that James's preference for rural Cambridgeshire over courtly crowds affected the networks of patronage and political links between court and city.

[57] More prudent bishops "devoted considerable time to protecting the temporalities attached to their sees," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 14.

[58] Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*, p. 319.

6. Community of Governors

Is it possible, and if so, is it constructive, to describe the structure, administrative function and members of the Church of England in relation to terms such as community, identity and professionalism? The late Elizabethan and early Stuart bishops were an identifiable community of governors within the political and ecclesiastical structures of early modern England. They represented an elite group of highly influential figures whose policies and actions reflected common interests and whose academic instruction and knowledge of administration reflected a common preparation for episcopal office. Their shared participation in advancing ecclesiastical policy and commitment to the successful management of the property, personnel and preferments of the Church of England suggests that they were more than solely spiritual figureheads and ambitious men preoccupied with personal gain. It is through this mutual participation in diocesan administration that the prelacy can be identified as a community of governors dedicated to the establishment of a common ecclesiastical policy and to a unified system of practical management: "communities were created through participation: community was not a given entity, but was rather constructed through the recurrent decisions and actions of people."[59] Ecclesiastical officials, their administration and social relations may be described as a form of community in so far as they all participated in the daily administration of the diocese, archdeaconry and parish. An examination of the social relations among a group of people can be achieved through an examination of the organization, structure and management of the common entity that binds them together: "social interaction is thus an inescapable aspect of human life. It produces organization, and organization in turn structures the interaction."[60] When one applies this statement to a study of the episcopacy and their officials the organization that social interaction produces becomes ecclesiastical administration and the interaction becomes the social relations that are necessary for the successful regulation of diocesan government.

The term community is not restricted to one discipline or area of research but is rather a useful, if not critical, term that is applied to many disciplines within the humanities and social sciences.[61] Community studies have recently become an important area of research within historical scholarship; however, its application to broader social hierarchies remains to be somewhat limited. The study of community has for the most part been directed towards the examination of localities and groups of people responsible for local government.[62] However, the term 'community' and its association with local studies must be acknowledged for its usefulness in examining identifiable groups at all levels of the hierarchical structure. The purpose and contribution of local studies will be extremely valuable in an examination of the episcopacy, their duties and the responsibilities of their officials. A connection needs to be established between different levels of the social hierarchy in order to more fully understand patronage systems, social networking and the intricate forms of governance that provided the foundation of early modern society: "no attempt has been made to propose a spatially definable intermediate plane of reference between people in different structured societies on the ground and the unifying higher level of social organization."[63] The social and administrative relations between a bishop and his officials are in need of investigation. These relations will contribute to our understanding of ecclesiastical administration at all levels of society and the role and participation of the bishops, as a community of governors, in the management of the diocese.

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[59] Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester, 2000), p. 10.

[60] D. Minar and S. Greer, *The Concept of Community: Readings with Interpretations* (Chicago, 1969), p. 3.

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[61] As a result of the inter-disciplinary function of the term community, it remains difficult to provide one definition that captures all of its uses: "[George A Hillery has] famously counted ninety-four contemporary definitions of the term, with no common feature beyond the involvement of people," *Communities in Early Modern England*, p. 3. See G. Hillery, "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," *Rural Sociology* 20 (1953), pp. 116-33. 'Community' has been defined by historians, sociologists and anthropologists according to where their own interests lay and, therefore, the term has evolved in accordance with the context and direction of the debate: "Over time, inferences, significance and usage of words change, not so much in an evolutionary fashion as in ways continually related to the contexts in which, about which, and by whom the terms are used," *Ibid*, p. 1.

[62] "Local history occupies that stratum in historical studies below the national level but above the level of family and individual," Alan Rogers, *Approaches to Local History* (London, 1972), p. 1. Hoskins has illustrated that the rudimentary form of local studies by professional historians was initiated with the publication of the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* series: "One could truthfully say that the professional historian only entered this field when *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* was founded in the year 1899," W. G. Hoskins, *Local History in England* (London, 1959), p. 3. See R. B. Pugh (ed.), *Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London, 1970). John Morrill has illustrated the value of county studies and has produced many works in the field of local English society. See his *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1974) and *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War 1630-1650* (London, 1976).

[63] Charles Phythian-Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (New York, 1993), p. 9, stresses the importance of examining communities at local levels in relation to community structures at the national level: "[There is a need] to bring both the national and local levels of change into some

Several sociologists and anthropologists have defined community as being dependent upon a physical barrier. Not only has it been a trend of community studies to examine a group of people at the local level of parish or village, but it has also become a dominant feature to examine a community that is defined by a physical concentration in one geographical territory. It is important to examine communities based upon their homogeneity of identity, participation of activities, and loyalty rather than on their isolation from other communities: "[local society] might be regarded as no more than an aggregation of inter-linked communities" but to do this would deny the group under examination their true existence.[64] Communities, like ideologies, networks, systems of patronage and social structures, were constructed, maintained and reconstructed. Communities were, and are, flexible and mobile social units not dependent upon geographical proximity. The term community must be freed from its intellectual packaging of isolationist assumptions.[65] A study of the administrative function of the bishops

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sort of mutual alignment," *Ibid*, p. 3, and that "no local society can be regarded as situated in glorious isolation to the centre," *Ibid*, p. 9.

[64] The term community usually denotes a group of people with common interests and the product of similar circumstances. Common ecology, identity and common social structures define communities: "locale will throw up common problems and give rise to common perspectives, which lead to the development of organizations for joint action and activities, which in turn produces common attachments, feelings of independence, common commitment, loyalty and identity within a social group. Hence, communities come to exhibit homogeneity," Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing (eds.), *Social and Cultural Anthropology: Key Concepts* (Routledge, 2000), p. 61.

[65] "communities have to be constructed and reconstructed," Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (New York, 1992), p. 58. "Political integration and social stratification reinforced local communities and strengthened the hands of local elites and relations within them. Communities were present, so to speak, amidst the turmoil of their own refashioning," Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), *Communities in Early Modern England*, p. 7. Communities inform us of much more than simply the structural systems and geographical barriers associated with that community. Communities reveal much about the shared value systems and cohesive qualities of a particular group of society: "Communities and their boundaries exist essentially not as social-structural systems and institutions but as worlds of meaning in the minds of their members," Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing (eds.), *Social and Cultural Anthropology*, p. 62; "there is also a need to regard community as at once an expression and a source of identity and meaning," Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), *Communities in Early Modern England*, p. 8. Anthony Cohen argued in favour of the post-structural analysis of community insofar that community represents "a resource and a repository of meaning"

and their officials within specific dioceses will provide a framework of reference for further diocesan studies. Bishops represented a community of governors and although they were responsible for a geographical location (diocese) they were by no means constrained to it.[66] They travelled to London to sit in Parliament and on the privy council, they attended courts throughout their dioceses during visitations and they travelled throughout the country for academic purposes.

Therefore, if we are to understand the role of the bishops in the administration of their diocese and their relations with ecclesiastical officials we must first examine the early modern prelacy as a community of professional governors. This concept of bishops as an identifiable community of administrators will in fact offer insights into how they functioned and the social mechanisms employed to efficiently operate ecclesiastical business. It also illustrates how one group of people interacted with other members of the same community and how they interacted with other groups of people of equal, lower or elevated social status. A study of community is ultimately a study of relationships.[67] *Social interactions* and *social organizations* have become a major focus of early modern studies and it is through these social relations and managerial tasks of the bishop and his officials that ecclesiastical policy, diocesan administration and the influence of the bishop on local and regional society will come into greater focus.

The early modern episcopacy were as much a distinct community as they were experienced governors. Alan Rogers has reminded us that it is just as crucial to examine how localities and communities were governed as it is to

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which people construct symbolically. This analysis attempts to break the bond that many scholars have placed upon the study of community; post-structuralists propose that communities are infused with meaning and therefore cannot simply represent a study of the geography and locality of an identifiable group in society. See Anthony Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London, 1985).

[66] Studies of diocesan government will offer historians a base from which further research can be achieved and will also offer opportunities for comparative studies: "units of local history are thus neither uniform nor static. They will vary according to circumstances in different localities and for different purposes," Alan Rogers, *Approaches to Local History*, p. 3.

[67] Raymond Williams has observed the use of "the warmly persuasive word to describe an existing set of relationships, or the warmly persuasive word to describe an alternative set of relationships," Raymond Williams, *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London, 1976), p. 76. A study of communities "provides insight into how larger processes were experienced in particular local societies, how they impinged upon individuals lives, and how the varied responses which they occasioned helped to shape their outcomes," Alan Rogers, *Approaches to Local History*, p. 6.

examine the locality or community itself.[68] In order to understand how the parishioners and local ecclesiastical officials were governed within each diocese it will be necessary to first examine the governors who were responsible for local, regional and national government. A responsibility of government at all levels of society resided in the administrative and communicative skills of the bishop and his officials.[69] Although one might argue that the archdeacon or churchwarden was the most important ecclesiastical official in executing diocesan administration, it was the bishop who initiated, directed, oversaw and regulated all managerial business and transactions within the diocese.

The late Elizabethan and early Jacobean episcopacy may be identified as a community of governors and studied as such because ecclesiastical administration of this period reflected a well organized system of governance.[70] The ecclesiastical hierarchical structure was based upon well-defined offices, personnel and duties and it represented an established system of governance that was well entrenched among the administrative personnel and among local landed society. Steve Hindle has suggested the types of enquiries that are essential for understanding the role of governance in early modern English society:

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[68] Alan Rogers states that it is important to ask questions such as "How were they [communities] governed? How are they bound together and on what issues were they divided?" *Ibid*, p. 7.

[69] Although Anthony Fletcher has argued that the governance of the political realm ultimately resided in the monarch and his most influential officials, the same idea can be applied to the ecclesiastical structure of governance. Hindle has argued that "inherent tension between centre and periphery was superseded by a compromise in which although 'deputies and justices were firmly in command of their own shires, they conceded to the monarchy the opportunity to erect a novel, and far more efficient fiscal system," and that the seventeenth century "demonstrated the strength of a national system of provincial governance which relied for its implementation upon local dignitaries," Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1640* (New York, 2000), p. 11.

[70] The notion of community and profession may be, and should be, applied to the sixteenth and seventeenth century English society. The basis for describing the clergy as professional members of the Church of England, which is applicable to other ecclesiastical officials, rests with their professional, institutionalized training and mutual participation in common interests and activities: "Professor Kenneth Charlton includes as one of the chief criteria for distinguishing a profession [as a] period of organized professional training – normally of a theoretical nature – on an institutionalized bases. The seminarial function of the universities; the foundation of puritan colleges to produce fit ministers; the energy devoted to 'in-service' training, all help the clergy to fit this description. The term 'learned profession' implies that the members of a professional group are not involved in manual labour…the entire body of the clergy, therefore, upper and lower clergy alike, fits neatly into Professor Charlton's model of a profession. It was a distinct group with its own accepted internal hierarchy, its own rules and regulations, its own 'training programme' (which was becoming accepted as the norm for new recruits) and its own emphasis on non-manual work," Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642* (Leicester, 1979), p. 159. See

> [It is essential to] describe the regime; the perception that effective government depended upon the initiatives of local men; the ambiguous nature of the ties (duty and conscience on the one hand, the formality of oath on the other) that bound subordinate officers to the hub of authority; the existence of policy objectives (public services) which went far beyond the dynastic priorities of the crown.[71]

These questions will illuminate the social dynamics, administrative networks and complex relations that represented the very essence of ecclesiastical governance within the diocese.

Hindle has attributed the 'increase of governance' in early modern England and the increased attention to this area of study to the "centralising tendencies' of the Tudor and Stuart regimes; second, to the quickening tempo of local administration…and third, to the growth of litigation, both civil and criminal, that took place in most jurisdictions of the realm."[72] For the most part, diocesan administration was able to, and did, operate fluidly and efficiently. However, it was under the guidance of the bishop that diocesan officials were able to manage the diocese and administer local business. It is exactly this relationship between the bishop, his officials and their duties that is in need of further investigation. Recent studies on the localities and regional structures of governance have suggested that a stronger connection must be established in the scholarship between the center and the localities.[73] An examination of the bishops as a community of governors in relation to their corpus of diocesan officials will contribute to the ongoing debate about ecclesiastical policy and its role in regional and local society. Furthermore, it will initiate a novel approach

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K. Charlton, "The Professions in Sixteenth-Century England" in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1969).

[71] Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England*, p. 2.

[72] *Ibid*, p. 3.

[73] "Despite the differing purposes for which various local, regional or provincial studies have been undertaken, they have each conveyed an impression of intensifying dialogue between the centre and localities," *Ibid*, p. 12. Hindle has also suggested that previous assumptions between the distinctiveness of national political and religious concerns and the concerns of the parish and local society are beginning to be dissolved by the historian's persistence of examining the relations between all levels of society: "the notion of 'opposition' between the 'community of the realm' and the 'community of the parish' has become less and less tenable…the strengthening of the hands of local elites might well have reinforced local communities," *Ibid*, p. 12.

to the study of the episcopacy: firstly, by examining the bishops as a cohesive corporate body of administrators; and, secondly, by proposing that their influence was by no means restricted to the national interests of the political and ecclesiastical structures of the realm. Finally, there is a lack of detailed analysis of the early modern episcopacy at the broadest level, not to mention of their role in diocesan administration for the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period. It is this very aspect of the administrative structure of the Church of England, along with the social networks and relations between the bishop and his diocesan officials, that I hope to examine in greater detail.[74]

7. Prosopography

Scholars readily agree that in the last few decades prosopography has become an accepted and widely used methodological tool in the discipline of history: "In the last forty years collective biography (as the modern historians call it), multiple career line analysis (as the social scientists call it), or prosopography (as the ancient historians call it) has developed into one of the most valuable and most familiar techniques of the research historian."[75] Prosopography greatly contributes to the study of communities, especially those who have received attention in collective biographies, and offers an opportunity for the historian to examine the characteristics, actions, behaviors, participation and solidarity of a group in society.[76] It answers questions relating to the demography, knowledge of offices, education, social origins, inherited income, financial and property management and experiences of identifiable communities.

Prosopography also enhances historical enquiry by increasing the opportunity for comparative studies.[77] An examination of a bishop's administrative skills and relations with his officials within one diocese will allow historians to make a comparative analysis in relation to other diocesan administrations. This in turn will provide the foundation for further understanding of the broad characteristics of ecclesiastical governance. However, the most important aspect of prosopography is that it offers another approach to the study of social networks, relations and mobility between members of a community and between local, regional and national communities. Natalie Petiteau has stressed the importance and usefulness of the prosopographic method, or qualitative history, for discovering the characteristics of an elite community and the function of the social networks embedded within that community:

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[74] "Remarkably few contributors to these debates (most notably, the role of the episcopacy and the relationships between the center and periphery) bridged the conventional chronological divide of the accession of James I." *Ibid*, p. 4.

[75] Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 100 (1971), p. 46. "The use of prosopography by historians is probably more widespread than ever before," Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory*, p. 38.

[76] Lawrence Stone has defined prosopography as "the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives," "Prosopography," p. 46.

[77] "This approach gives a sharper edge to comparison, making apparent the similarities and differences between two societies and also the possible correlations (say) the degree of urbanization and literacy in each," *Ibid*, p. 36.

> Le recours à la prosopographie permet une réflexion sur la nature d'un groups social né d'une volunté souveraine et d'une législation lui donnant une définition préalable. L'éstablissement de généalogies sociales viese par ailleurs à comprendre les mécanismes de la mobilité au sein de la société francaise.[78]

Lawrence Stone has also supported this notion of using prosopography as a method for examining not only the characteristics and skills that bound a community together but also the structure and operation of the institution that supported, and was in turn supported by, the community.[79] By using the prosopographic method, an examination of the role, actions and administrative knowledge of the episcopacy will offer insight into ecclesiastical administration at both the national level and the level of diocesan management.

Historians first relied upon prosopography as a method for explaining either the men or the institutions of political history and only recently have they acknowledged the value which prosopography brings to the study of social structures, mobility and networks.[80] It is through the use of prosopography that one is able to explore the roles of communities in society and the social mechanisms that maintained these members of professional associations. Lawrence Stone illustrated the evolution of prosopography and its use in the field of history by identifying three distinct schools of interpretation. The first use of prosopography by historians was an elitist approach fueled by the quest for great men and great events. This ideological approach to history, congruent with whiggism, sought to demonstrate the dynamics, power and prestige of a small elite group.[81] The second stage in the development of the employment of prosopography to historical discourse resided in a more statistically-minded school of the social sciences. This school provided a statistically-based group biography rather than relying on fragments of information from case studies.

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[78] Natalie Petiteau, "Prosopographie et Noblesse Impériale: de L'histoire d'une Élite à L'histoire Sociale," *Histoire, Economie et Société* 17 (1998), p.278.

[79] "an understanding of who the actors were will go far towards explaining the workings of the institution to which they belonged," Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," p. 53.

[80] "Invented as a tool of political history, it is now being increasingly employed by the social historians," *Ibid*, p. 47.

Finally, prosopography evolved to include broader and more diverse spectrums of communities that had distinct social, economic and geographic characteristics. This resulted in its association and application to a wider and more flexible structure of group solidarity which focused on social relationships, kinship and patronage structures rather than on an analysis of the groups' relation and contribution to the political structure and the national regime.[82] Stone, among other historians, attributed the transition from an elitist interpretation of political figures to an interpretation that incorporated the role of social relations and networks into the historical discourse to the work of Sir Lewis Namier. It has been argued that although Namier continued to follow an elitist approach when applying the prosopographic method to historical narrative, he initiated a concern for the social structures that were established, constructed and reconstructed among communities:

> A key feature of the elitist interpretation [by Namier] of the historical process is the deliberate and systematic removal of both party programs and ideological passions from the center of

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[81] Stone states that this elitist approach to prosopography supports the assumption that "politics is a matter of the interplay of small ruling elites and their clients rather than mass movements," *Ibid*, p. 47. This use and interpretation of prosopography (interest in collective biography) reached its height in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century culminating in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber argues that the use of prosopography is restricted to an examination of elite groups: "La demarche prosopographique reste donc attentive a la singularite des groupes sociaux et des individus qui les composent quand elle les place sous sa loupe grossissant," Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Quelques Reflexions sur les Rapports Entre Prosopographie et Demographie Historique," Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (eds.), *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography* (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), p. 29.

[82] Stone attributes these developments of the use of prosopography to the over-production of political, constitutional, institutional and diplomatic histories of powerful nations to the waning intrigue and support for politicians and political systems and to the concern that anthropologists shared for family and kinship strucutres: "Prosopography could not have flourished the way it did in the 1920s and 1930s had it not been for a crisis in the historical profession in the near-exhaustion of the great tradition of Western historical scholarship," *Ibid*, p. 52, and for "the decay of confidence in the integrity of politicians, and the decline of faith in the importance of constitutions," *Ibid*, p. 54.

> the political stage, and their replacement by a complex web uniting patrons with their clients and dependents.[83]

This concern for the complex social relations that existed between clients and their dependents can, and should, be applied to the study of the early modern episcopacy and diocesan officials. The demography, administrative skills, ambitions, academic training and preferments of a community of bishops and their social relations with their officials can be achieved through the use of prosopography. This achievement will offer historians a greater opportunity to examine and provide analysis of the early modern English episcopacy, ecclesiastical policy and their influence on seventeenth century society.

This is not to say that prosopography is immune from the limitations and concerns that are often present in methodologies adopted for historical analysis. Like other methodological tools, most notably quantitative analysis, prosopography is limited to the quantity and quality of available data and is vulnerable to errors in its classification and analysis: "everything will be known about some members of it [community], and almost nothing at all about others, certain items will be lacking for some, and different items will be lacking for others."[84] However, the historian is liable for his interpretation and for the conclusions he or she draws from the sources. It is also the responsibility of the historian to adopt, support and give credibility to a particular methodology and it is in this context that prosopography encounters similar limitations that subsequent methodologies pose for the historian.

Prosopography offers a valuable, instructive and efficient method of interpretation for the early modern episcopacy, ecclesiastical policy and diocesan administration.[85] Examination of the characters, actions and career paths of the bishops during the Henrican and Edwardian periods has proven that a study of the bishops as a community provides an essential and basic framework for further examination and provides the opportunity for comparative studies.[86] Although prosopographic and quantitative studies of the prelacy have demonstrated their potential for examining the religious history of early modern England, it has been conditioned and restricted by historiographical patterns of this period. Just as historians have focused upon the religious categorization of the bishops and viewed them as a group influential only upon national concerns, so too have they relied upon prosopography to support this notion: "Even more important in its historical consequences than the valuable studies of members of the official hierarchies within the church has been the uncovering of the roots of religious radicalism in secular society."[87] Prosopography has been one of the many accomplices to the quest for explaining the growth of Puritanism, the rise of Arminianism and the gentry-based revival of Catholicism. When historians understand and accept both the limitations of prosopography and the value that it brings to the study of communities, the analysis and conclusions can greatly contribute to the broader historiographical and methodological issues and queries. It will also greatly enhance our understanding of the role and actions of a community of bishops, their relations with diocesan officials and their influence on local and regional society. Prosopography has been successfully applied to the study of the prelacy and gentry during the reformation and a similar approach is needed for the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean episcopacy:[88]

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[83] K. B. McFarlane, "Bastard Feudalism," *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research* 21 (1945), p. 24. J. Brooke has quoted Namier's explanation for why he believes prosopography, the study of communities and the importance of social relations is important for historical research: "when I asked [Namier] why he was interested in the lives of small men, he told me that as a child he had been neglected by his parents, and found companionship only with servants, and had thus developed an interest in the lives of people who never held the center of the stage. When asked what the phrase, 'Namierizing history' really meant, Namier would laugh and reply: 'It means finding out who the guys were,'" J. Brooke, "Namier and Namierism," *History and Theory* 3 (1964), p. 333.

[84] Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," p. 58. Stone argues an "unwary prosopographer is still liable to draw erroneous conclusions from his data," *Ibid*, p. 61. However, doesn't this apply to every methodology employed by the historian?

> Prosopography will continue to develop on both sides of the Atlantic because it is so ideally suited to the requirements of research papers and doctoral dissertations. It introduces the

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[85] "religious history of England has benefited enormously from prosopography," *Ibid*, p. 67.

[86] "The behavior of the bishops during the Reformation crisis has been elucidated and the divisions of opinion convincingly related to different education training – in theology or law – and to different career lines in the church or the state bureaucracy," *Ibid*, p. 67. Discrepancies between the bishops during the Reformation were much more pronounced than between the bishops of the late Elizabethan era. By the 1580s (I claim) bishops can be viewed as a community of governors with common academic and political experiences, knowledge of offices and policies.

[87] *Ibid*, p. 67.

[88] Stone has stated that prosopography would be most instructive and valuable method "when it is applied to easily defined and fairly small groups over a limited period of not much more than a hundred years, when the data is drawn from a very wide variety of sources which complement and enrich each other," *Ibid*, p. 69.

> novice student to a very wide range of sources, it teaches him to evaluate his evidence and to apply his judgement to resolve contradictions....it nevertheless contains within it the potentiality to help in the re-creation of a unified field out of the loose confederation of jealously independent topics and techniques which at present constitutes the historian's empire.[89]

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[89] *Ibid*, p. 71, 73. Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray support Stone's argument for the usefulness of prosopography: "prosopography is by no means an all-sufficient tool. It is nonetheless a highly promising, and as yet an insufficiently exploited, mode of conceptualization," Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray, "Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: the British Scientific Community 1700-1900," *History of Science* 12 (1974), p. 21.

Chapter II: Patterns, Characteristics and Anomalies

1. Sources

Scholarship on the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy continues to be conditioned and restricted by dynastic dates and the change of monarchy.[90] A comprehensive examination of the high church officials encompassing the last two decades of the reign of Elizabeth I and the first two decades of James I's reign has not been attempted.[91] These prelates were a unique, and perhaps unrivaled, element within early modern English society. As servants of the crown they were expected to contribute to the political machinery of governance, ensure royal supremacy, peace and stability within their dioceses, and to take an active role in administration of the universities and the world of scholars. As ecclesiastical governors, on the other hand, they were expected to administer to the spiritual welfare of princes and parishioners and to maintain religious consensus and theological support for the Church of England. It is my goal to provide a general portrait of the bishops who, in theory at least, touched all levels of society by administering to both the needs of the monarch and parishioner.

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[90] Professor Elton has acknowledged past, and present, tendencies of writing history that are dependent upon political dates and constructed periods of relevance to the historian: "In many ways the date 1485 matters less than almost any of the dates picked by historians....It had only one real significance and that was dynastic," G. R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London, 1974), p. vii. Patrick Collinson has focused on the religious environment of the Elizabethan era while Kenneth Fincham has focused his investigation on the early Stuart episcopacy. There is no study that is dedicated to the examination of the late Elizabethan *and* early Stuart episcopacy.

[91] Two unpublished dissertations have touched upon the Jacobean episcopacy. Henry Malone studied the Jacobean bishops and focused on their appointments to the episcopal bench and Arthur Kautz focused on the bishops' religious categories and their involvement in the 'inevitable' collapse of the early Stuart church. Although Kautz dedicated two chapters, out of seven, to the geographic and social distribution and selection process of the Jacobean episcopate, these chapters merely identify some of these concerns and illustrate the need for further examination. Both dissertations reflect their own generation of scholars and historiographical trends; both were conditioned and restricted by overriding interpretative themes reinforcing the approaches, interpretations and dialogue influenced and sustained by historians such as Tawney, Hill, Sir John Neale and Stone: "The division in episcopal councils, however, was but a reflection of an irreconciable conflict growing in English political, economic, and cultural, as well as ecclesiastical life. For both the king and his episcopate were caught in a stream of historical forces unleashed long before the Stuarts came to the English throne," Arthur Kautz, *The Jacobean Episcopate and its Legacy: A Study of the Episcopacy in Canterbury and York During the Reign of King James I* (PhD Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1952), p. 3. "For a time the Calvinist element could moderate High Church authoritarianism, but when that was no longer possible, revolution in Church and State was almost inevitable. The union of divine right monarchy with an Arminian-dominated episcopate was not powerful enough to eliminate all dissent and both episcopate and monarchy were swept away in a Puritan-Parliamentary triumph," Henry Malone, *The Jacobean Bishops: An Examination of the Episcopate Under James I, 1603-25* (MA Thesis, University of Texas, 1969), p. 100.

Several sources have been exploited, condensed and reinterpreted for the purpose of illustrating demographic, regional, geographic and academic patterns and anomalies regarding these leading ecclesiastical and political figures. The sources include Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, Fuller's *Church History*, *History of Cambridge* and *Worthies of England*, and finally, Lloyd's *Biographia Britannica* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.[92] These are the standard texts cited in the secondary literature. *Athenae Oxonienses, Alumni Oxonienses* and *Athenae Cantabrigienses* provide reasonably detailed information of the academic careers and church advancements of the bishops under review while the *DNB* provides general summaries of many of their lives. In contrast, the works by Fuller and Lloyd provide an essential component for the analysis of the early modern English episcopacy. Fuller's *Church History* (1655), *History of Cambridge* (1655) and *Worthies of England* (1662) provide commentary that is nearly contemporary with the period of study. Lloyd's *Biographia Britannica* continues to offer a narrative of the lives of these bishops free from the limitations of modern interpretations.

My assessments come from a survey of eighty-two bishops who either held their episcopal office after 1580 or who were consecrated to their first bishopric prior to 1625. All graphs and tables represent only those bishops who held English or Welsh sees [Table 1]. Scottish and Irish prelates will not appear in any of the statistical information but will still be commented upon and alluded to throughout the text [Table 2]. The limitations of these sources and subsequent conclusions have also been taken into account.[93] This is by no means a conclusive examination of the English episcopacy between 1580 and 1625, but aims to be a basis for further research.[94] It illuminates trends and characteristics while contributing to the ongoing debate about the 'religiosity' of early modern England and the style of churchmanship of the prelates expected to promote and maintain theological adherence to the Church of England.

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[92] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (London., 1891), Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1691), Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1858; and Macmillan and Co., 1858, Thomas Fuller, *Church History and History of Cambridge* (London, 1655), Thomas Fuller, *Worthies of England* (London: Printed by J. G. W. L. & W. G., 1662), Lloyd, *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1744) and *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908).

[93] For instance, information is not always complete. However, wherever this occurs the restrictions of the source will be noted.

2. Demographic Patterns

The marital status of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy has been overlooked and little regarded in the study of episcopal duties and ecclesiastical policies. However, its relevance becomes clear when discussing the 'style of churchmanship' adopted by these prelates. The bishops' marital status illustrates their own perceptions of their duties as spiritual governors of the church. Marriage among the episcopate influenced, if not directed, the bishop's concern for financial security, patronage and insurance of the advancement of his kin relations. Marriage and family made claims on the time and commitment a bishop dedicated to the administration of his diocese and the spiritual well being of his flock: "Bishops, especially married bishops, were strongly tempted to make good their losses by means which were contrary to custom and the principles of good husbandry, if not illegally."[95] Collinson's remarks about the marital status and relations of the episcopacy are predominantly confined to the Elizabethan bishops,[96] of whom he notes, for instance, "not one Elizabethan bishop achieved a marriage alliance with the lay nobility,"[97] and that they tended to marry among the lesser gentry or made alliances with the children of contemporary bishops.[98] Such an examination is needed for the Jacobean episcopacy.

From my survey of eighty-two bishops between 1580 and 1625, the marital status of forty-nine, or sixty-one percent, is known. Nine bishops remained bachelors while forty were married, twenty-seven of whom married more than once. Eleven bishops married twice and another two married three times [Appendix 1 – Tables 1 and 2]. Although the marital status of thirty-one bishops is unknown, it is likely that a majority of them would have married at least once.

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[94] For further reference to the accession dates of these bishops see E. B. Fryde et al. (eds.) *Handbook of British Chronology*, Third Edition (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1986).

[95] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 74. "Most bishops now had wives to support and children to advance," *Ibid*, p. 71.

[96] Out of seventy-six Elizabethan bishops "at least fifty-five were married," *Ibid*, p. 37.

[97] *Ibid*, p. 71.

[98] "For his [bishop Mathew] wife Francis was a daughter of William Barlow," *Ibid*, p. 45.

Professor Collinson's conclusion that 'not even one of the Elizabethan bishops' married into the ranks of nobility is also broadly true for the Jacobean episcopacy. The evidence indicates that bishops married among the lesser gentry or among the relations of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and that the wives of these prelates descended from families whose patriarchal head either held a gentleman's title or that of esquire (the latter being more common). The social status of their wives' patriarchal head of the household tended to be either ecclesiastical in nature or indicative of local governmental positions such as an alderman. Three bishops married the daughters of former prelates,[99] while another married the niece of the former bishop of Ely.[100] The social status of their wives suggests that the bishops were not strongly connected to the higher ranks of society or were at least not thought of, by the nobility, as possessing the same social distinctions.

It must also be observed that Queen Elizabeth I suspended two prelates for marrying twice.[101] When Thomas Godwin was "infirm with age, and diseased with the gout"[102] he married a girl of twenty years. It has been suggested that Godwin married the young girl for a share in her wealth. There were also eleven other bishops who married more than once; however, there was no mention of the queen's displeasure with them. There is also no evidence of James I's displeasure at the marriages of the early Stuart bishops. If the bishops were likely to provoke the queen's anger by marrying, then why did they do so? It seems unlikely that marriage would elevate the bishops' social standing as none of them married above their own position in life, except for the four prelates who married the daughters or other close relations of former bishops. It also does not seem possible that they would have married with the hope of securing the patronage of those at court as there is no evidence for a marital union between a bishop and a woman of such social connections. Likewise, bishops could not have been seeking the favour or patronage of the monarch, as marriage tended to result in Elizabeth I's displeasure and the possible loss of ecclesiastical authority. Marriage seemed to result from the prelate's desire to possess a lifestyle similar to that of his secular contemporaries.

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[99] Francis Godwin married the daughter of Dr. John Wolton [bishop of Exeter], Overton married the daughter of Dr. William Barlow [bishop of Chichester], and Wickham also married the daughter, unknown if the same woman, of Dr. William Barlow [bishop of Chichester].

[100] Francis Godwin, Overton and Wickham married the daughters of former prelates while Mathew Hutton married the niece of Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely.

[101] Thomas Godwin and Goldsborough.

The social status of those closely connected to the prelacy had an indirect, and perhaps direct, influence upon the bishop's theological position, and on his own perception of his status and duties as spiritual governor and supporter of royal supremacy. George and Robert Abbot's religious observance and theological views can be seen as being influenced by their parents' adherence to Protestantism and perhaps even puritanical tendencies.[103] George Abbot has been described as possessing a "strong affection for the reformed faith,"[104] displaying great affection for Waldo, Wycliffe, Huss and Luther. His brother Robert professed similar tendencies towards the men of the reformation, sympathizing with the puritan party while ardently rejecting separatists, Arminians and Roman Catholics. Still, even among the sources which describe the ecclesiastical policies of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy there remain discrepancies in their portrayals of the prelates' theological preferences and programs.[105]

The prelate's circumstances were capable of directing his own perception of his episcopal office in relation to other members of the church and political hierarchy. Among the thirty-two known occupations held by the patriarchal head of the prelate's family, seven were merchants or tradesmen, six were described as descending from an 'ancient family,' five held church offices, another five were described as descending from 'worthy parentage,' four held the status of esquire and one the status of gentleman, and the remaining four included a seafaring man, an antiquary, a knight and an alderman of York. Not one prelate was descended from a family of noble rank within the ecclesiastical or political hierarchies with the exception of Francis Godwin whose father was the bishop of Bath and Wells. This conclusion supports Fincham's general assessment of the

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[102] Thomas Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, p. 29.

[103] Both parents of George and Robert Abbot have been described as "staunch protestants," *DNB*, vol. I, p. 5.

[104] *Ibid*, p. 6.

[105] While the *DNB* describes George Abbot as a prelate ready to punish all separatists, Arminians and Roman Catholics, Lloyd describes George Abbot as a prelate showing

social status of the Jacobean and Caroline episcopacy,[106] and illustrates that the Jacobean episcopacy closely resembled their Elizabethan predecessors. What, however, what can we deduce from these findings?

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the prelacy's familial origins and social status influenced the bishop's view of his ecclesiastical office and his relations with other members of the church hierarchy. The relations between the bishop and his diocesan officials will be discussed below in Chapter III. As for the former topic, the evidence suggests that while the episcopacy did not actively pursue consanguinity with the leading figures in court politics, they did attempt to establish good relations with these leading figures as necessity required concerning the working administration of their diocese and for support in ecclesiastical affairs. What can be said for certain is that the late Elizabethan and Jacobean episcopacy were not preoccupied with elevating their social status through marriage alliances. Nor were they convinced that their situation was beneath that of the politicians and courtiers whose aid they solicited from time to time in pursuing their diocesan duties.

In studying the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy the number of children under the care of a bishop is a pertinent area of investigation. Bishops, like other patriarchal heads of households, understood their responsibilities for governing a household and ensuring the advancement of one's issue. The time and commitment that a bishop put towards his diocesan government and enforcement of his ecclesiastical policies were conditioned and influenced by the number of his immediate heirs. The number of children that is known for twenty-two of the forty married prelates suggests that, at least for some, a large amount of attention, energy and commitment must have been required to meet the demands of a large family. For these twenty-two bishops six children was the average. Several, including William Chaderton, Francis Godwin, Thomas Godwin, Miles Smith and John Young, had only one or two children, but others, including John Aylmer and Mathew Hutton, had ten, Robert

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"himself in many circumstances in life, a man of great moderation towards all parties," *B. B.*, vol. I, p. 15.

[106] "On the bench of bishops there were a few sons of gentry [Goodman, King, Montague and Senhouse], and a larger number of relatively prosperous professional and urban families: sons of merchants [Andrewes, Bridgeman, Davenant and Morton], of clergy [Field, Parry] and of burgesses [Laud], of a butcher [Smith], a baker [Harsnett], and a candle-maker [Neile]," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 19.

Townson fourteen, Henry Cotton nineteen and Adam Loftus, the archbishop of Dublin; had twenty [Appendix I – Table 3]. How could a prelate's energies towards his administrative duties and policies not be compromised, to some degree, by his expected duties as the patriarch of a family? While some bishops did not have any children of their own they still expressed a keen interest and took upon themselves the responsibility for administering to the needs of other close familial relations. For example, John Davenant, a bachelor, expressed a great concern for the proper advancement of his sister's children.[107] He took it upon himself to negotiate and secure worthy marriages for his nieces, two of whom married future bishops of Salisbury. There are several references in his letters to Samuel Ward, master of Sidney Sussex college, regarding the marriage prospects of his nieces: " [if] you know any discrete man, competently provided for, who intends marriadg, you would (as from your selfe), wish him to be a suiter unto some of our maidens wherof two are now marriadgable. My sister will give reasonable portions."[108] Davenant's active interest in his sister's children may not have been typical: not all bishops employed the same amount of time and energy in their children's advancements. As Davenant's sister was married to his successor in the See of Salisbury, Robert Townson, Davenant's adoption of the paternal duties of Townson would suggest that Townson neglected, or failed in, establishing marriage alliances for his daughters.

Both contemporaries and historians have accused the late Elizabethan and Jacobean episcopacy of nepotism. Richard Barnes, William Cotton and Francis Godwin, to name a few, have been accused of promoting family relations to church offices and granting other ecclesiastical preferments within their dioceses. Edwin Sandys has been assigned the role of being the first English prelate to transmit large fortunes to his children,[109] while John Aylmer and John Still bestowed large fortunes and legacies upon related familial lines. Professor Fincham established that many bishops used their authority and influence to advance family members within the diocesan administration.[110] But did bishops sacrifice their own theological preferment, ecclesiastical policies or pervert the 'rules' for the advancement of their relatives?

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[107] Morris Fuller states that, "the bishop exerted himself to advance these [his sister's] children in life, and we shall find him especially solicitous to settle his nieces," Morris Fuller, *The Life, Letters and Writings of John Davenant D. D. 1572-1641* (London, 1897), p. 143.

[108] *Ibid*, p. 257.

[109] "His chief energies were directed towards amassing a fortune for his children," *Athen. Cantab.* Vol. II, p. 27.

It is unfair to say that this concern for establishing and securing family networks within their dioceses either hindered or restricted their policies or theological opinions. Bishops were as concerned, no more and no less, with advancing family connections and pursuing duties of heads of households and protectors of family relations as were the nobility at court. It would seem more plausible to infer that the prelacy advanced members of their own family to ensure and continue their own ecclesiastical policies within their diocese. The practical issue appears not to be whether they neglected their ecclesiastical programs for advancing the Church of England but rather the effect that nepotism had on the time and commitment they dedicated to implementing and pursuing their ecclesiastical policies. Familial relations within the network of a bishop's diocesan officials would facilitate a more consistent enforcement of the machinery of governance at the local level.[111] Nepotism did not infringe upon church policy but rather increased the probability of his diocesan officials accepting and enforcing the bishop's ecclesiastical policy. In other words, 'nepotism' is a largely anachronistic (and negative) description of mutually-reinforcing kin networks, a typical social arrangement of the period in all situations.

3. Regional and Geographical Patterns in Ecclesiastical Advancements

The regional and geographical patterns of the episcopacy illustrate the theological tendencies of the prelacy and problems associated with certain dioceses. The placement of bishops to specific sees may have been seen as necessary by the monarch for altering the theological trends in that region:

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[110] "Bishops conferred a certain number of livings on family and relatives," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 190.

[111] Two examples of the advancement of family relations within the bishop's own diocese can be found in the *Cal. Wells. MSS*, Vol. II, (London, 1914). During the episcopal office of Thomas Godwin the advancements of his son Francis Godwin within the same diocese may be traced between 1585 and 1589. On 29 March 1585 Francis Godwin appears as an MA, being installed in the prebend of Combe VII. On 2 Oct 1587 he is admitted as a canon residentiary, already being then the prebend of St. Decuman's. Finally, on 20 Dec 1589 he was installed in the prebend of Combe VIII. Even after the death of Thomas Godwin, Francis continued to rise within the church hierarchy, albeit at a slower rate. On 4 Jan 1602 he was consecrated bishop of Llandaff. On 2 July 1617

"Educated at Cambridge...Fletcher was one of the vanguard of Cambridge clergy imported to Sussex to evangelize Chichester diocese under Richard Curteys."[112] Fincham thinks that deliberate policy decisions lie behind a number of translations to key sees. Not only were bishops conferred to dioceses due to an agenda of the monarch or patrons at court but they were also conferred due to personal connections and knowledge of a region.[113]

A prelate's knowledge, before his consecration, of the theological tendencies and problems associated with his diocese would, in theory, render him more effective in locating and correcting problems and more effective in administering to the needs of his diocese. Roughly thirty of eighty bishops were born in or close to all of their future bishoprics,[114] another thirty-four display an average distance between their bishoprics and birthplace and only sixteen do not follow any pattern in this regard. Eight bishops were born in the same county as their future diocesan sees with three bishops being born in the city which was the seat of their future bishopric.[115] Finally, of the seven bishops that were born in Wales, five of them became bishops of Welsh sees.[116] The prelates' notion of the

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Francis Godwin resigned his canon residency in favour of Paul Godwin MA prebend of Holcombe. I am unsure if this was a direct relation or not.

[112] Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 84. Fincham states that "it is also probable that anti-Puritan bishops [Overall, Harsnett, Barlow, Neile and Montaigne] were deliberately chosen to rule Puritan dioceses," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 29.

[113] "men with local knowledge and connections were best suited to the northern and Welsh sees," *Ibid*, p. 26. Fincham draws our attention to the fact that 8 of the first 10 bishops of Chester were men with Cheshire connections chosen because they were well acquainted with the religious problems in that region.

[114] These bishops included George Abbot, Robert Abbot, Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Barnes, Thomas Bilson, John Coldwell, John Davenant, Thomas Dove, Thomas Godwin, Goodman, Hanmer, Mathew Hutton, William James, John Jegon, John King, Arthur Lake, William Laud, George Montaigne, William Morgan, Thomas Morton, Henry Parry, Thomas Ravis, Henry Robinson, Henry Rowlands, John Scory, Richard Senhouse, Miles Smith, John Thornborough, John Underhill, Richard Vaughan and John Young. Of these thirty prelates who were born in or near to their future bishoprics, six were elevated to one bishopric that was not close to their birthplace. These bishops include George Abbot with his elevation to his first see of Lichfield, William Laud with his elevation to his first see of St. David's, George Montaigne with his elevation to his second see of Winchester, John Scory with his elevation to his last see of Hereford, John Thornborough with his elevation to his first see of Limerick, Ireland and finally, Richard Vaughan with his elevation to his final see of London.

[115] Bishops Richard Bennet, John King, George Montaigne, Richard Senhouse and John Underhill were all born in the same counties while Thomas Bilson, Henry Robinson and Edwin Sandys were born in the same city.

[116] Lewis Bayly, George Lloyd, William Morgan, Henry Rowlands, and Richard Vaughan remained as prelates in their native Wales while Goodman and Williams,

religiosity of their region prior to their being granted the responsibility of governing their dioceses would aid them in establishing networks of diocesan officials and creating a corps of personnel that would support their ecclesiastical policies. A new bishop aimed to recruit a corps of personnel that would counter the theological tendencies of the region if they were not consistent with their ecclesiastical policies and those of the monarch.

Familiarity with a diocese could also result from the prelate's active participation, while a diocesan official, in the administration of their future diocese. The ecclesiastical advancement of roughly thirty-seven prelates [46%] illustrate geographical links, that is, at least several advancements in the same county and most advancements in a same region [Appendix II – Tables 1, 2 and 3]. However, this conclusion may not be applied to those bishops who were born in the same county or city. Of the eight bishops who were born in the same county as their diocese only Bennet, Bilson and King show some recognizable pattern to their advancements. If these remaining five bishops were advanced to the same dioceses of their birthplace then why were their other church advancements not indicative of their final elevation?

It would appear that other factors were essential in ecclesiastical advancements. Kin networks and placements, as discussed earlier, and patronage ties would be other factors that directed the geographical placement of preferments. Patrons would bestow preferments upon their clients in relation to their own geographical location and the regions under their influence. The monarch would elevate church officials to their sees due to the desire to alter or change the theological tendencies of a particular region or perhaps even to reinforce and re-emphasize royal supremacy in a region. For the most part, though, church advancements did follow a recognizable pattern of regional and geographical trends.

4. Nature and Characteristic of Dioceses

The geography and character of a prelate's diocese produced certain effects in the operation of his diocese and the roles that his officials adopted for their administration of the diocese.[117] Professor Fincham's concept that the

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although being born in Wales, advanced to the English sees of Gloucester, Lincoln and York.

[117] Fincham concludes that the "rural dean's function [was] different in the south than in the north," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 149, and also that, "in medium-sized

structure of the diocese was able to (and did!) influence all aspects of the bishop's career, including his actions, behaviours, policies, relations and polity, is a recurring theme throughout his work: "the size, administrative structure and location of a diocese tended to determine a bishop's options for him."[118] The nature and location of the see influenced the programs of the bishop as his policies were restricted by the resources available to him. The structure of the diocese ultimately conditioned the character and role of its bishop. Professor Collinson has argued along similar lines that the microcosm of the parish represented the macrocosm of the diocese and vice versa: "It would be strange indeed if ecclesiastical life uniquely failed to conform to localized patterns of social existence which were determined by geography and the distance it was possible to travel to and fro in a day and to transact one's business."[119]

Not only did the location, character and resources of the diocese influence the policies and programs of the bishop but their age and generations also affected their style of churchmanship. The average life span of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy was 67 years [Appendix II – Table 4]. The exceptional ones included six bishops, Mathew, Overton, Thornborough, Wright and Smith who lived eighty years or longer and Morton who lived until ninety-five; Ravis, meanwhile, died at the age of forty-nine and Underhill at forty-seven [Appendix II – Table 5]. A longer tenure would, in theory, allow a bishop to gain a more beneficial understanding of his administrative machinery in the diocese and more effective methods for implementing his ecclesiastical policies.

Professor Fincham concluded that "over half of the Jacobean nominees had been born between 1559 and 1569, that is to say the first generation to grow up in a settled Protestant church, and had studied at Oxford and Cambridge in the later 1570s and 1580s." He also states that at first consecration Bridges represented the oldest prelate (at sixty-eight) to succeed to a see while Williams was the youngest (at thirty-nine). The question remains whether the same may be true for the late Elizabethan prelacy and whether differences in generations can help explain the roles of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy.

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dioceses the interests of the bishop were protected by the appointment of his principal lawyer, the chancellor [etc],"*Ibid*, p. 150-1.

[118] *Ibid*, p. 4.

[119] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 121.

Perhaps a more fruitful approach would be to establish the generational trends of bishops and the duration of time between their episcopal advancements. At their first consecration the average age was 48 years, at their second consecration 55 years, at their third consecration 58 years and at their fourth consecration 58 years. George Montaigne and Richard Neile represented the only bishops who were elevated to more than four sees. At their fifth consecrations Montaigne was fifty-nine years of age and Neile was sixty-five, and at Neile's sixth consecration he was only four years older [Appendix II – Table 6]. The evidence also demonstrates that the usual time-interval between elevations to sees was between four and nine years.[120] It would also appear that bishops advanced to four or more sees did not achieve their advancement at a regular pattern in relation to years or ages of preferment. Although a pattern did exist there were several exceptions, but in each case it resulted from instances of royal preferment rather than the typical rhythm of preferments granted by political and ecclesiastical patrons.

The number of dioceses held in succession would increase the prelate's knowledge of ecclesiastical machinery, alter his own perception of his expected duties, influence his personal character, actions and ecclesiastical policies and heighten his ability to interact with his diocesan officials and administer to the demands of the monarch and other patrons. Sixty-five bishops, an overwhelming majority, held either one or two sees in succession.[121] William Laud, George Montaigne and Richard Neile were the exceptions who respectively held four, five and six dioceses in succession [Appendix II – Table 7]. The advantages accumulating from holding several sees in succession could easily be hindered by duties expected of other offices and church advancements that were simultaneously held by the prelate. Barlow, Barnes, Bayly, Chaderton, Goldsborough, Overton, Laud, Morgan, Phillips, Thornborough, and Williams all held other ecclesiastical advancements *in commendam* with their bishoprics.

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[120] The exceptions to this included George Abbot, Richard Cox, George Carleton, Nicholas Felton, Theophilus Field, George Montaigne, Richard Neile, Thomas Morton, Henry Parry, Robert Wright and Richard Vaughan who were elevated to at least one other see in three or less years. On the other hand, another group of exceptions included John Buckeridge, Francis Godwin, Mathew Hutton, Edmund Grindal, Samuel Harsnett, Tobias Mathew and John Thornborough; all of who were elevated to at least one see after an interval of ten or more years.

[121] This number includes Richard Cox who was the only late Elizabethan and early Stuart bishop who held two sees 'in commendam'.

Barnes was granted a license to hold the chancellorship of York and the rectories of Stonegrave, Stokesley and Romaldkirk in Yorkshire *in commendam* with the diocese of Durham. Bayly was granted the rectories of Llanbeulan, Llanddesusant, Trefdraeth, Llanfidhengel-Itraith, Llandinam and Llanierstyn to be held *in commendam* with his bishopric of Bangor. Commitments such as these to other offices and duties would have conditioned the time and energy directed to implementing and enforcing their ecclesiastical policies within their own diocese. In his *Biographia Britannica*, Lloyd discusses Williams's situation of holding his bishopric simultaneously with the offices of the dean of Westminster, rector of Waldgrave, residentiaryship of Lincoln and prebend of Asgarvey "not without some difficulty."[122] If this was the case, then was it the expectation of the monarch or other patrons for the prelate to hold several offices *in commendam* or was it the will of the bishop himself?

It is very clear that many of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart prelates wished either to resign or to decline other ecclesiastical and secular offices while holding their episcopal office. Mathew Hutton, and several other prelates, resigned their positions in the universities due to their concern of time restraints and ability to carry out all duties required of them. Other bishops such as Whitgift declined prestigious and powerful state offices that were responsible for the administration of the realm's political machinery of governance. He declined the office of Lord Chancellor and successfully recommended Christopher Hatton in his place.[123]

The episcopacy was not only concerned about the time commitment demanded of them by their acceptance of other offices but bishops were also concerned about elevation to certain dioceses. Andrewes and Young, both concerned over the financial situation of dioceses that were offered to them, declined to accept their transfer. Andrewes had declined the sees of Ely and Salisbury due to the alienation of part of their revenues and Young declined the see of Norwich because his opinion was that its lands and revenues had been spoiled.[124] Although these bishops were concerned over their future financial security, a larger number of bishops had declined to be elevated to wealthier and prosperous sees. Young and Cooper preferred to remain in their present sees due to familiarity and a working knowledge of their diocesan administration. Lloyd describes several reasons that influenced Cooper's decision to decline to be translated to the see of Norwich. These reasons included a fear of too great a change, the responsibility of having to administer to a larger number of churches within the diocese, and likewise having to increase and deal with a larger number of diocesan officials.

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[122] *B. B.*, Vol. V, p. 4279.

[123] *B. B.*, Vol. V, p. 4253.

[124] It is quite possible that Young's status as a married prelate with at least one child influenced his concern for securing his financial status. The same cannot be argued for Andrewes as he never married.

There were bishops who wished to retire from their sees in favour of allowing another prelate to take their place. Aylmer's wish to resign the bishopric of London in favour of Bancroft and Grindal's wish to resign the archbishopric of Canterbury both resulted in Queen Elizabeth I's disapproval and refusal to accept either resignation.[125] Cox had also wished to resign from his bishopric and resignation papers had been drawn up but no other bishop wanted to accept the diocese due to its loss of manors. In Cox's case, the simultaneous administration of the two sees of Norwich and Ely proved overly burdensome. Collinson concluded that the geographical location and quantity of official duties influenced a prelate's character, actions and policies. From this evidence it would seem absurd to interpret the late Elizabeth and early Stuart episcopacy as "time-serving careerists."[126] These prelates were neither desirous of accumulating great portions of wealth nor preoccupied with social status. They did feel the burden of taking on too many positions, whether in the university, church or state offices.

A prelate's residence in his diocese, his actions as spiritual governor and his own perception of his episcopal office illustrate his roles. Ussher and Goldsborough were the only bishops who rarely resided in their dioceses, while Bridges was the only bishop who spent most of his time in his diocese (unlike his predecessor), by taking up residence there. One other exception was Tobias Mathew who secured a license from James I to travel for a period of three years.

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[125] It should also be noted that Edmund Grindal did not accept the bishopric of London for at least six months. Other bishops resigned from other ecclesiastical offices in the Church of England for reasons of reducing their burdens and also for reasons of family advancements. William Morgan resigned the rectory of Llanrhaiadr in favour of his son. Samuel Harsnet, along with other prelates, refused rectories to be held *in commendam* with their bishoprics.

Most of the other bishops resided in their diocese for several months at a time which suggests that they took care in administering to the needs of their diocese.

Many bishops were described by contemporaries as maintaining a covetous and extravagant way of life. Aylmer, Babington, Cooper, Cox, Curteys, Grindal and Ravis all were accused of either plundering the revenues of their see, adopting a lifestyle that could not be supported by their financial earnings or displaying an exorbitant love of power and prestige. But this seems improbable. If this were the case then Cooper would not have declined the opportunity of being advanced to a wealthier and more prestigious diocese and Aylmer and Cox would not have wished to resign from their wealthy sees. Likewise, Grindal's reluctance to accept the see of London belies the notion of the early modern prelate as a man eager to amass power and wealth. One could also expect that Aylmer, Cooper, Cox and Curteys, as married prelates, would have been interested in securing financial security and future advancements to their immediate family. However, this does not exclude those bishops who were not married as they may have also been influenced by other members of their family (as illustrated by Davenant's commitment to his nieces and nephews). Factors such as family commitments, patronage systems, geographical sympathies, the number of ecclesiastical and secular offices held by each prelate and the influence of their academic training conditioned their mode of living and choice of lifestyle. But avarice and cynical abuse of opportunity seem entirely absent.

5. Academic Patterns

The attendance of the bishops at Oxford and Cambridge (and more specifically within particular colleges), and their incorporations of degrees has been a neglected area. The academic training of the bishops was a vital component of the bishop's preparation for the Church of England as it influenced the bishops' theological preferences and ideological principles. Collinson vigorously argues that the character, behaviour, theological backgrounds, ecclesiastical policies and, finally, their role in the Church of England should, and must, be traced back to their academic institutions: "So the topic of bishop making belongs as closely to the history of the universities…as it does to court

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[126] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "King James and his Bishops," *History Today* (1955), pp. 571-81.

patronage."[127] Tom Webster expresses the same concern in relation to that of the godly cleric.[128] Was there a difference between the academic training of the ministry and prelacy, and if so, what were the distinctions? As the academic training of a bishop is deemed a crucial factor in determining his style of churchmanship and ecclesiastical policy, it is important to examine the role of the college in shaping his beliefs and experiences.[129]

Factional divisions between the prelates reflect a prevalent fixture among the colleges of the university. Factions and networks were established during a prelate's attendance at his college and these relations continued to be an influencing factor throughout the duration of their episcopal offices. In the trial of 1615, John Howson defended himself against accusations made by archbishop Abbot and the other moderate puritan members of the university before king James I. Howson's testament "provides much valuable evidence for the polarized opinion within Oxford University as well as the views of James I."[130] Throughout his narrative, Howson continually alludes to the factions that existed within the University of Oxford. These factions created frictions between the prelates, not only concerning university affairs, but also concerning their understanding of the correct theological position of the Church of England and concerning their administration of diocesan government.

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[127] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 61.

[128] "We can trace something of a life-cycle from college to preaching post," Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*, p. 13.

[129] Collinson states that the "network of connections between the colleges and their tutors and parents, schoolmasters, patrons and alumni" was a crucial element in the educational foundation of the clergy and prelacy, Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 118. Fincham argues that "theological divisions produced a contrasting churchmanship in diocesan government based on rival visions of the Episcopal office," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 5. Colleges not only influenced the bishop's theological pursuits but also influenced the administrative skills of the bishop. Richard Bancroft, George Abbot, Richard Abbot, Tobias Mathew, Thomas Bilson, John King, Lancelot Andrewes, Thomas Morton, John Overall, Arthur Lake, Nicholas Felton and John Davenant all acquired essential skills for becoming able administrators.

[130] "John Howson's Answer to Archbishop Abbot's Accusation at his Trial Before James I at Greenwich," Nicholas Cranfield and Kenneth Fincham (eds.), *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. XXIX, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987), p. 326. Mathew Hutton has described the power of the factions within the universities and their influence on establishing differences within church governance: "have an Eie to the Universities, that younge Witts there be not inured to contentious Factions; for I have noted one Thinge, and by Observation founde it to be true, since I first knew Thuniversitie, which is now almost thirtie Yeares ago, that they, which in their younge Years, were contentious and factious there," *Athen. Cantab.*, p. 422-3.

Forty-nine of the eighty-two bishops of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy attended Cambridge, with the largest number, thirteen, attending St. John's College [Appendix III – Tables 1, 2 and 3]. At Oxford, eleven of the thirty-two prelates attended Christ Church with only one prelate attending each of Oriel College, St. Edmund Hall, St. John's, St. Mary Hall and Trinity College [Appendix III – Table 4]. Seventy-one percent of the prelates did not have any of their degrees incorporated with the other university. Incorporation of a degree would suggest a change of loyalties among factional groups at the colleges or perhaps a change in patronage systems. Among those whose degrees were incorporated fifty-two percent of the prelates' MA degrees were incorporated, twenty-nine were incorporated at the level of BD, and fourteen percent at the level of DD. Five remaining degrees were incorporated, although which degree is unknown, and none were incorporated at the level of BA [Appendix III – Tables 5 and 6]. The late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy were highly educated officials who were, for the most part, amply qualified for both church and state offices.

The patronage systems that were established between the prelate and his college along with his ability to bestow preferments within his diocese help to illustrate the influence of the college upon the prelate's diocesan administration and style of churchmanship. Was the role of the college more influential than that of the bishop in producing ministers and providing livings for them? Collinson has demonstrated that the bishop's role in controlling the livings was severely limited because "a majority of benefices were subject to lay patronage, and here the bishops' role was restricted to granting institution."[131] Moreover, the bishop was placed in a dangerous situation as his support or rejection of certain candidates could easily result in bitter resentment or even a formal action by the patron against the bishop.[132]

The level of degrees obtained by the prelates indicates the educational and administrative standards required of the episcopacy for attaining their position as spiritual governors. An average of five to seven years between degrees represents the normal educational progression from BA, MA, BD and

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[131] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 69.

[132] The bishop's "rejection of a candidate for institution always ran the risk of the expense and inconvenience of a civil suit brought by the patron against the bishop," *Ibid*, p. 69.

DD. The exceptions to this rule included Aylmer, whose degrees of BD and DD were not incorporated at Oxford until 1573 leaving a period of twenty-eight years between his degrees of MA and BD. Field obtained his degrees of BA, MA and BD within one year of each other whereas Goodman had obtained these same degrees within the same year. With discrepancies such as these what was the academic achievement that was required for advancement in the Church of England? It becomes clear that the majority of prelates had obtained the degree of MA before proceeding to their first ecclesiastical advancement[133] [Appendix II – Table 1 and Appendix III – Table 7]. Thirty-three prelates had obtained an MA before their first advancement, seven had obtained a BA, and six a DD. Fletcher and Rowland did not possess any degree before advancing to their first preferment. Fletcher's first advancement within the Church of England preceded his BA by fifteen years and Rowland's first advancement proceeded his BA by two years.

The relation between the episcopacy's advancement to their bishoprics and their degrees strongly suggests that episcopal advancement required the successful completion of the doctorate in divinity. However, there was an enormous discrepancy between the years in which the prelate obtained the degree of DD and the year of their first consecration. James's elevation to his first and only see occurred thirty-two years after his degree of DD. Bridges's elevation to his first and only see also occurred after a long interval had passed after his degree of DD [Appendix III – Table 8]. With average duration of time between the completion of the degree of DD and their first consecration date being 10 years, there were two prelates who were elevated to their respective sees without obtaining a degree higher than their BD. Barnes received his DD nine years after his rise to the episcopal see of Carlisle, and Henry Cotton achieved the episcopal office one year before receiving his DD. In the cases of Bridges and James, experienced theologians, not careerists in a hurry to become rich, can be seen becoming bishops. In the cases of Barnes and Henry Cotton, their elevations could have been deemed necessary due to the desire to alter the theological problems of their sees or perhaps due to the favour of the monarch.

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[133] Several advancements of the bishops are either unknown or too little information is available to include them in this survey. These bishops include Valentine Carey, Henry Cotton, John Davenant, Thomas Dove, Nicholas Felton, Theophilus Field, Martin Fotherby, John Jegon, George Lloyd, James Montague, Thomas Morton, Henry Robinson, Anthony Rudd and Robert Townson.

Apart from the degrees associated with the study of divinity there were three bishops who also obtained the degree of M.D. and practiced medicine. Thomas Godwin's pursuit of a 'physic' degree was common among the late Elizabethan episcopacy who wished to evade persecution during the reign of Mary I. Godwin had graduated from medicine in 1555 and only practiced as a means to support his family until Elizabeth I ascended to the throne. Thomas Cooper also graduated from medicine; however, the sources disagree as to when he practiced and at what point he returned to pursue a life in the church. Anthony Wood's statement that in 1546 he "gave himself up solely to the studies of humanities and medicine," and returned to the faculty of divinity as soon as Elizabeth I was securely on the throne is contradicted by Joseph Foster's remark that he was dispensed on "3 July 1566 for B. Med and leave to practice." Whether either one is true it must be acknowledged that Cooper pursued a degree in medicine at a time when fear of persecution was not present.

A prelate's pursuit of a medical degree can be most explicitly seen in John Coldwell, bishop of Salisbury. Coldwell was raised to the see of Salisbury without completing a BD. Nor was he pursuing a physic degree as a means of escaping punishment for his theological beliefs. Coldwell had begun his advancement in the church in 1558 when he had completed his MA. In 1564 he obtained his M.D. and became the domestic chaplain and medical advisor of archbishop Parker. It was through Parker that Coldwell received his advancements in the Church of England. Thirty-three years after obtaining his M.A. and twenty-seven years after his M.D., Coldwell advanced to the see of Salisbury and held the diocese for four years. Coldwell, by never obtaining a Bachelor of Doctor of Divinity degree, was a unique exception to the academic world of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy.

The rise of a 'medical man' to the see of Salisbury attests to the fact that there were other prerequisites essential for church advancement than merely academic qualifications in the Faculty of divinity. Another aspect that seemed to have been important not only for the bishops themselves but also for the monarch was one's experience of university administration. Roughly thirty-seven prelates were at one time lecturers, professors or heads of houses at Oxford or

Cambridge. Thirty-one prelates held the position of master, vice-chancellor or chancellor of one of the universities [Appendix III – Table 9]. The prelate's knowledge of administrative techniques (as well as current and future clerical personnel) would aid him when he became bishop in the administrative duties required of him as the head of a diocesan government. This knowledge was also seen as extremely beneficial for the monarch, as the advantages of employing these prelates in one of many political positions of authority were clear.

Historians have emphasized the intellectual capabilities and academic qualifications of several early Stuart bishops. The pursuit and activity of the 'scholar-bishop' would affect the relationship between himself and his diocesan officials, the machinery of diocesan government and the uniformity of his ecclesiastical policy. James I promoted learned theologians and advanced scholar-bishops to prestigious ecclesiastical and political positions at court. Lancelot Andrewes and James Ussher were two highly trained academic scholars to whom James I showed great favour.[134] Hugh Trevor-Roper has illustrated how Ussher's theological and academic training at Trinity College influenced his religious beliefs and ecclesiastical policy as archbishop of Armagh. At Trinity, Ussher studied and taught the Ramist discipline which, he was convinced, was the true historical philosophy. This philosophy influenced his attitude towards religious observances and shaped his career as a leader in the Church of England. Ussher's personal convictions regarding his academic life affected his relationship with his diocesan officials and with the workings of his diocese.[135]

The late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy dedicated much of their time and energy towards maintaining or improving their already sophisticated academic qualifications. Lloyd identified their capacity for learning as one factor that was responsible for their advancement within the Church of England.

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[134] "[A]bove all he [James I] prized the company of learned theologians," *Ibid*, p. 38. James took "delight in Andrewes' learning and rhetorical sophistication," Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 155.

[135] See H. R. Trevor-Roper, "James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh," in his *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans*. Trevor-Roper states that as Bishop of Meath it was clear that his heart was not in the administration of his diocese. Fincham also argues that "Andrewes was at heart a scholar, politician when it suited him, but no natural controversialist," *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 279. G. R. Elton asserted that Lancelot Andrewes' commitment to a scholastic life resulted in the neglect of his political responsibilities: "Unlike Montague, and very much unlike Laud or Cosin, he simply was a scholar and not a political animal," G. R. Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government: Papers and Reviews 1946-1972* Vol. IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 165.

According to Lloyd, the distinction between the prelacy and other church officials was their commitment to academia (the institutional academic world) and success at academic elevation: "[Bilson's] rising was merely by his learning as true prelates should rise."[136] Many bishops were actively involved in composing historical collections and catalogues.[137] The preoccupation of these prelates with their scholastic pursuits also compelled them to support scholars in the universities. These affiliations with colleges and their patronage of university scholars maintained their connection with the colleges and intensified the factions and other relations between prelates and members of the college.[138]

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[136] *B. B.*, p. 794. Many other prelates have been described as scholarly achievers. For example, prior to his elevation to the see of Chichester, Andrewes travelled to London for one month of the year to visit his parents, "during which time, with the assistance of a master, he applied himself to the attaining of some language or art, to which he was before a stranger: and by this means, in a few years, he laid the foundations of all the arts and sciences, and acquired a competent skill in most of the modern languages," *Ibid*, p. 141. The only prelate who was not praised for his superior academic merit was John Whitgift, for his learning "seems to have been confined to the Latin language…neither doth he seem to have been skilled in points of theology," *Ibid*, p. 4254.

[137] Chaderton, Cooper and Francis Godwin are examples of those bishops who spent an incredible amount of time composing historical collections. Francis Godwin spent years improving his "Catalogue of the Bishops of England." Thomas Cooper had composed a "Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae" of which his wife tore up half of it and he was forced to rewrite it.

[138] See *Howson's Answers to Archbishop Abbot's Accusations at his 'Trial' Before James I at Greenwich, 10 June 1615*, Camden Miscellany, Vol. XXIV. Howson's statement illustrates the factious relations that existed between future prelates and members of the colleges.

Chapter III Diocesan Administration

1. "Clogging Details of Mere Routine Work"

What were the administrative responsibilities and activities of early modern English bishops and how effective were they as governors within their dioceses? What were the administrative and social relations between the bishop and his diocesan officials and to what extent did his officials carry out episcopal policies? Did conflict or tension exist between ecclesiastical courts and diocesan administration and to what extent was there an unspoken administrative language among diocesan officials? To what degree were ecclesiastical officials capable of operating the machinery of governance in the diocese, archdeaconry and parish and how often and under what circumstances did the bishop intervene in local administration? And, finally, what can diocesan administration tell us about the responsibilities, capabilities and characters of the episcopacy, the bishop's role in local affairs, and, on its broadest level, about early modern ecclesiastical policy? These seemingly straightforward questions remain largely unexplored but answering them will allow us to see bishops' true influence as a community of governors in local and regional society.

Recent scholars have tended to focus upon bishops solely as religious representatives of the Church of England or as politicians ambitious to intervene in national affairs. Discussions of bishops typically have been connected to highly dramatic episodes of religious conflict and doctrinal disputes at the national level. Scholarship has regarded bishops as if they were marginal rather than central figures, but this overlooks the importance of the bishop's relation to his diocese and the people within it. Moreover, scholarship in general continues to view the prelates according to doctrinal categories and undervalues the significance of the managerial activities of the bishop in the regions and localities. Bishops and diocesan officials must be examined as great landlords and, like their secular counterparts, they had far-reaching practical influence and constant interactions with lay gentry and local society. They also must be examined as administrators if we are to place them properly within the social dynamics and networks of governance (whether local, regional or national). Bishops' diocesan administration executed practical management of lands, properties, revenues and careers as well as exercise moral and spiritual supervision but bishops have not been examined as administrative governors and their networks of diocesan officials have only begun to be explored. These practical roles are how we will come to understand their influence and significance to seventeenth century landed society.

Scholars have remarked, of course, that bishops were landowners of large estates. However, this fact has not stimulated further studies necessary to fully understand the intricate relations that existed between the bishop and his officials: "the establishment for the administration of the bishop's temporalities was quite distinct from that which, headed by the chancellor, took care of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction: it was comparable to that of any owner of large estates."[139] Although the significance of the bishop and his responsibilities as an administrator have been recognized they have not been discussed in any detail. Scholars such as Hembrey, O'Day, Heal and Churchill have agreed that an intimate connection existed between the prelate and the management of his diocese and they have begun to describe the prelate as administrator. However, their assessment largely remains connected to the bishop's role as the spiritual leader of the Church of England and continues to focus attention upon doctrinal categories and religious preferences: "He [bishop Piers] seems to have been just an administrator: an administrator with dogmatic ideas on doctrine."[140] This analysis of the bishop and his diocesan officials directs the focus away from the practical duties of the bishops and their importance as a community of administrators at the local and national level. Instead, this preoccupation with religious categories and spiritual roles of the bishop restricts the interpretation of the early modern episcopacy to an ideological framework of ecclesiastical policy. This is not to say that the spiritual duties of the bishop can be overlooked, albeit bishops were spiritual leaders of the Church of England subservient only to the crown. However, their intimate connection with the management of lands, revenue, personnel and patronage within their dioceses, to name a few, suggests that they were more than solely religious figures charged with protecting the faithful and upholding the *via media* of the church. They were great landowners and administrators who were responsible for the organization, maintenance and personnel of their estates and property and this aspect of the early modern episcopacy deserves investigation.

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[139] Phyllis M. Hembry, *Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1540-1640: Social and Economic Problems* (London, 1967), p. 40. "Archbishops, bishops, and deans and chapters were great landowners," Christopher Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church*, p. 5.

[140] Phyllis M. Hembry, *Bishops of Bath and Wells*, p. 226. I. J. Churchill's assessment of Canterbury Administration ultimately relies upon the increased responsibility expected of the diocesan and parish officials and their ability to manage day-to-day business. By illustrating the heightened responsibilities, and number, of officials in the diocese after the Reformation Churchill concludes that the bishops and archbishop were spared the burden of overseeing the execution of administration and the management of financial queries and personnel preferements: "One result [of increased networks of diocesan officials] has been to free the Archbishop from the clogging details of mere routine work and to enable him to direct the fortunes of the Church of England as a whole on its spiritual side," I. J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishopric of Canterbury Illustrated from Original Records* (London, 1933), p. 615.

The bulk of the secondary literature concentrates on assigning prelates to appropriate religious categories either as a means to promote themes such as the 'rise of Arminianism' or to answer queries relating to the ideology of ecclesiastical policy, the civil war and the abolition of episcopacy.[141] Historians who have attempted to study the court structures and administrative function of officials within the diocese have tended to describe these systems as static and separate features of diocesan administration. No one study exists that examines the bishop's management of his diocese, the social relations and networks established between the bishop and his officials, the character of the bishop and his influence on local and regional networks and patronage systems. Most of the studies concerning ecclesiastical administration have focused upon the later Middle Ages, and most specifically, the structure of medieval courts.[142] These studies are not only concerned with pre-Reformation diocesan administration, but they are also extremely outdated in their use of methodologies, historical approaches and central themes. R. A. Marchant's *Church Under the Law 1560-1640* (1969) and R. Houlbrooke's *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation 1520-1570* (1979) represent the most recent studies that directly focus on early modern ecclesiastical administration and court structures. In fact, one is able to say that these are the only two studies that attempt to examine the organization, structures and management of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[143] Whereas Marchant's study is dedicated to an examination of the diocese of York, and Houlbrooke's study focuses on the continuity and change between the pre-Reformation and the early Tudor Church, no study to date examines the diocesan administration and the role of the bishop in the province of Canterbury in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period. A study of the diocesan administration in the province of Canterbury which focuses upon the administrative and social relations between the bishop and his ecclesiastical officers is necessary if we are to understand the social dynamics and networks that existed within the management of the Church of England.

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[141] See Peter Lake, "Business as Usual? The Immediate Reception of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," *JEH* 52, 3 (2001), pp. 456-486, "Joseph Hall, Robert Skinner and the Rhetoric of Moderation at the Early Stuart Court," in Lori Anne Ferrel and Peter McCullough eds. *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester 2000), pp. 167-87, "The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness," in Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church* (Basingstoke, 1993), pp. 161-86, and Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640* (1987).

Further investigation into these aspects of ecclesiastical administration and church governance will provide insight into what the bishop, and his actions as governor, meant to seventeenth-century landed society. Commentary on

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[142] See A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), I. J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* (1933) and B. L. Woodcock, *Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury* (1952).

[143] Scholars have produced several pieces of work examining ecclesiastical court systems. These studies appear fragmented in the form of articles or chapters in larger works. Moreover, they tend to describe the structures and duties of ecclesiastical courts rather than the practical management of diocesan administration and the daily functions, responsibilities and relations between officials. See C. I. A. Ritchie, *The Ecclesiastical Courts of York* (Arbroath, 1956), R. Peters, *Oculus Episcopi: Administration in the Archdeaconry of St. Albans, 1580-1625* (Manchester, 1963), M. Bowker (ed.), "An Episcopal Court Book for the Diocese of Lincoln," *Lincoln Record Society*, lxi, 1967, and F. D. Price (ed.), "The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes within the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester, 1574," *Publication of the Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc. Records* Section X, 1972. "The broad outline of the development of the superior southern courts in the sixteenth century can be traced, and the judges delegate, the ecclesiastical commissioners and the prerogative court of Canterbury, have all been studied," Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1979), p. 4. To give credibility to this statement Houlbrooke refers to three sources: G. I. O. Duncan, *The High Court of Delegates* (Cambridge 1971), R. G. Usher, *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission* (Oxford, 1913) and C. Kitching "The Prerogative Court of Canterbury from Warham to Whitgift," Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal (eds.), *Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church of England 1500-1642* (Leicester, 1976). These sources offer only a glimpse into the church courts of the province of Canterbury. They offer a preliminary framework of few of the structures and functions of the ecclesiastical court system. Further analysis of the practical management abilities and opportunities of the bishop and his officials, the complexity of the court systems and the connections between functions, duties and responsibilities is needed to understand how these courts operated within ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Finally, the court structure represents only one aspect of diocesan administration for the early modern prelacy and his officials. Management of property, personnel, finances, practical duties, daily administrative functions and relations between offices and duties all contributed to early modern ecclesiastical administration, and therefore demand attention as a serious area of research.

diocesan administration has only begun to explore the duties and commitments required of church personnel and their affiliations with other officials. Christopher Hill's statement in 1956 that "we know all too little about the relations of ecclesiastical landlords with their humbler tenants," unfortunately remains true.[144]

2. "A Most Promising Field of Research"

The inaccessibility of source materials is one reason for the delayed and fragmented enquiry into diocesan administration. Many sources, such as Registers, Visitation Papers, Court Papers and records are located in the archives; however, "they survive quite unpredictably and very patchily, at least down to the seventeenth century."[145] Episcopal sources have never been gathered into one or even a few archives and remain scattered throughout the country in royal and diocesan archives. G. R. Elton has illustrated most emphatically the richness of source materials and at the same time has alluded to the caution that scholars bring to the study of early modern ecclesiastical jurisdiction and administration:

> Only young scholars, still enthusiastic, physically strong, and possessed of a sound digestion, are advised to tackle these materials. On the other hand, they offer a most promising field to research because they illuminate the history of the church and people in ways that no other source can.[146]

However, as implicitly stated above, the paucity of episcopal studies reflects the inaccessibility and difficulties of examining source materials rather than the low value in such a task. Nevertheless, the records of the Church of England contain valuable information regarding the daily managerial tasks of the bishop and his ecclesiastical officers: "They [records of the church] tell much about the organization, government and general running of the church."[147] Administrative and judicial records of the church are crucial sources for understanding the role of the bishop in diocesan administration and the degree to which he and his policies reached local society.[148]

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[144] Christopher Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 6-7.

[145] G. R. Elton, *Sources of History: England 1200-1640* (London,1969), p. 94.

[146] *Ibid*, p. 105.

[147] *Ibid*, p. 114.

[148] See J. Charles Cox, *Churchwarden's Accounts: From the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1913) and Ronald Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 263-93, for discussions and lists of churchwardens accounts. Hutton has provided a list of churchwarden accounts according to shires for the early modern period; however, he states this list is

Although most records were produced by administrative and judicial activities of the bishops, archdeacons and other officials, there are several other useful sources that are available for an examination of diocesan administration and the relationships between prelate and his officials. A bishop's letters and personal correspondence provide insight into his relations with the monarch, other bishops, diocesan officials, lay gentry and state officials. The letter-books of Thomas Bentham and John Parkhurst are the only two surviving collections of personal correspondences of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean episcopacy. These letter-books provide a wealth of untapped evidence for the social relations between the bishop and all other ecclesiastical and secular officials including the landed gentry.[149] These will be discussed in further detail in Chapter IV.

Apart from these letter-books, personal correspondences of the episcopacy may be found in the *Episcopal Registers* (microfilmed by Harvester

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incomplete and that "it is almost certain that more accounts remain hidden in the vestries of their native parishes," Ronald Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England*, p. 263. In the past churchwardens' accounts for explaining the 'rise of Arminianism' and the 'beauty of holiness.' Not only have historians focused on the decades leading up to the abolition of episcopacy, but perhaps as a result of this, they have neglected to examine the Jacobean church as an accommodating institution with active and professional members: "A large number of those churches experienced further major campaigns in the 1630s, but what is really new and important here is the evidence of activity *before* 1625, a testimony perhaps to the Jacobean consensus which many feel marked the true establishment of the Church of England," and "Due attention has been paid in recent years to the efforts made by Archbishops Neile and Laud to improve matters in the 1630s, but this has served only to reinforce the impression of limited activity in the period before then," Andrew Foster, "Churchwardens' Accounts of Early Modern England and Wales: Some Problems to Note but Much to be Gained," in French et als. (eds), *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 86, 88. For a collection of visitation articles for the Elizabethan period see Walter H. Frere (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* (London, 1910) and for the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period see W. P. M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: An Essay in Sociology and Politics* (London 1924) and for the early Stuart period see Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church* (London, 1994). Court papers and records illustrate the working relationships between bishop, archdeacon and their officials, their commitment to ensuring the proper management of diocesan activities and their support of ecclesiastical property.

[149] Ralph Houlbrooke and Patrick Collinson have referred to these letter-books only in passing. Professor Collinson goes further than to mention their existence and their value to a study of the social relations and administrative functions of the bishops and their officials: "From the whole period under survey only two sizeable and compact collections of letters survive, to reveal the bishop in his political and social relations and administration, from day to day," Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 58. Also see Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation 1520-1570*. To more fully understand the social dynamics, network systems

Press) and the *Registers of the Archbishops of Canterbury* at Lambeth Palace Library. Both of these sources contain a vast amount of information including administrative acts of the bishops and their officials; chiefly records of institutions of clergy to benefices and related materials, exchanges of livings, resignations and deprivations of incumbents, appointments and inquiries concerning vacancies and rights of patronage; ordination of clergy, business relating to church fabric and property, visitations, royal letters and letters between bishops, commissions, licenses, records of financial and estate administration, and religious documents issued by archbishops.[150] An analysis of these source materials, which have not been exploited to their potential, will result in a more comprehensive study of the bishop's character and his role in diocesan administration. Moreover, an examination of the bishop's contribution to the practical management of his diocese and his associations with members of the church and local community will establish a working framework for further detailed studies at the national level of episcopal government and at the local level of parish politics.

3. Themes

An examination of diocesan government and the men responsible for the management of the Church of England will highlight and contribute to major current debates about the early modern episcopacy. Diocesan administration was an extremely complex system that allowed for great fluidity between officials and their respective duties. Bishops, like their officials, were able to, and *did*, alter polices, practical administration, means of governance and social relations to accommodate both local diversity and variation within the diocese, thus honouring the shared high value this generation of bishops placed on the principles of *accommodation* and *unity among diversity*: "a bishop could successfully intervene to deal with abuses when necessary, and that the good management of his courts was ultimately his responsibilities."[151] Marchant also stated that "legal personnel of the courts worked harmoniously together. At least,

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and relations between the bishop, his officials and landed society, it is necessary to examine these letter-books in greater detail than has been attempted in the past.

[150] Several personal letters of John Davenant have been printed in Morris Fuller, *The Life, Letters and Writings of John Davevant D.D. 1572-1641.*

[151] Ronald A. Marchant, *The Church Under the Law: Justice, Administration and Discipline in the Diocese of York 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 33. Also see his *The Puritans and the Church Courts: In the Diocese of York 1560-1642* (Aberdeen, 1960).

if there was any friction it was hidden below the surface."[152] This statement is not supported by the sources, especially by the querulous, often antagonistic, relations between the bishop and his officials that are apparent in the letter-books of Bentham and Parkhurst.[153] The effective administration of ecclesiastical policy, including financial and judicial aspects of church government, was for the most part achieved in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period. Although the machinery of governance at its broadest level operated relatively smoothly throughout England and Wales, regional and local disputes and conflicts were often present within each diocese.[154] It was at the regional level of diocesan administration that one is able to identify the more complex relationships that existed between prelate and official.[155]

Bishops organized and managed diocesan administration according to particular interests and opportunities. A bishop's character, ambition, demographic characteristics and geographic resources were ultimately connected to his management skills and his selection of officials and either limited or enhanced his abilities as an administrator: "It [diocesan administration] was determined not only by inherited custom and organization, but also by the character of men who ruled each diocese."[156] Variation in diocesan administration was also dependent upon a bishop's previous knowledge of management, whether from holding an academic or political office. It is through a discussion of these themes in connection to diocesan administration that we will be able to better understand the role of the bishop as governor and the influence of his policies and actions on ecclesiastical management and its personnel selected to oversee daily administration.

4. Structure of Ecclesiastical Administration

The structure of ecclesiastical administration under the guidance of archbishops Whitgift, Bancroft, Abbot and Laud has not received attention as an important area of study in its own right. Instead, this period of ecclesiastical government was overshadowed by highly dramatic episodes in the history of the early modern English church. For the most part, historians believed that this period lacked the intrigue and excitement of the reformation, the struggle of the early Elizabethan bishops in establishing the *via media* and the challenges to the church initiated by the events leading up to the Civil war and the Interregnum. What is more surprising is that this view remained dominant in the historiography of the early modern episcopacy and ecclesiastical administration until very recently. For instance, in 1967 Hembry argued that "information about the episocopal estates in the early Stuart period is meagre…one is dependent upon scraps of information from various sources, and the net result is not very illuminating, but it may well be that this was an uneventful period in the administration of the estates."[157] Uneventful or not remains unimportant; what must be acknowledged is that the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean episcopacy and diocesan administration forms a significant part of any broader understanding of ecclesiastical policy for the early modern period.

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[152] *Ibid*, p. 56.

[153] For further discussion see Chapter IV.

[154] Robert Peters has illustrated that repetitive instances of diocesan officials disobeying episcopal command, or operating according to their own initiative, was prevalent within diocesan administration: "It is quite clear from the act books that this directive [Bancroft's demand about the length and intervals between court sessions] was never put into effect in this archdeaconry," Robert Peters, *Oculus Episcopi*, p. 29.

[155] "efficiency of diocesan administration varied greatly from time to time and from one diocese to another," Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation*, p. 21.

The church was the dominant feature on the landscape of early modern England and it influenced every level of society. It was symbolically the spiritual overseer of the Protestant faith, responsible for instructing and correcting the morality of the English people, offering guidance and direction to the unfaithful, and ensuring the safekeeping of souls. Institutionally, it represented the most powerful and wealthy corporation on English soil, consisting of a complex and well defined machinery of governance responsible for the management of finances, property and a corpus of personnel. This aspect of diocesan administration deserves examination not solely for defining the hierarchical structure of ecclesiastical officials but for establishing patterns, routines and anomalies that contributed to and propelled diocesan administration.

Although the monarch was the supreme governor of the church, it was the senior ecclesiastical officials, as an administrative body of governors, who gave impetus to the management and business of the church [Appendix IV–Table 1]. Directly under the monarch were the archbishops of Canterbury and York who presided over archiepiscopal courts that operated separately from the

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[156] *Ibid*, p. 21.
[157] Phyllis M. Hembry, *The Bishops of Bath and Wells*, p. 235.

episcopal courts of the bishops. They were not only responsible for the dioceses within their own metropolitan jurisdictions but they were also required to govern their own dioceses. As a result, a body of administrators and officials were necessary to execute the policies of the archbishop and to manage the complex court structures and administrative duties. The archbishops held appellate jurisdiction over each bishop and exercised ordinary jurisdiction of a bishop within a vacant see within their province. Under their jurisdiction and through the use of archiepiscopal courts they were responsible for crowning monarchs, for visitations, deprivation of inferior bishops, nominating chaplains and other officials, granting of special licenses and for granting dispensations to clerks to hold more than one benefice. The archbishop of Canterbury, known as 'the primate of all England' (the archbishop of York was known as 'the primate of England') held greater authority and influence. With two official residences in London and Canterbury the archbishop was in closer geographical proximity, and therefore had greater access to the monarch and to highly influential political figures, than his spiritual counterpart in the north of England.[158] He represented the *ex officio* ecclesiastical commissioner of England and was responsible for appointing notaries public capable of practicing in both provinces.

Directly under the monarch and archbishop's authority were the bishops. They were invested by the crown and consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. For a prelate to be appointed to a bishopric, the dean and chapter first notified the monarch as to the vacancy of the see. Then a license under the Great Seal with a letter containing the monarch's nominee was presented by the dean and chapter followed by a *conge d'eslire*. The dean and chapter were bound by *praemunire* to proceed with the appointment of the appropriate bishop within twelve days. Finally the archbishop issued a commission to his vicar-general to formally examine the process of instatement and then administer to the bishop the oath of allegiance, supremacy and canonical obedience.[159]

Bishops were also responsible for the administration of their own dioceses as well as secular duties such as giving advice in parliament and in privy council. Like secular lords and gentry, they too traveled to London for state business and established important connections, liaisons and patronage systems with influential politicians, the monarch and other ecclesiastical figures. Moreover, the bishops were, according to the 1604 Canons, required to maintain close relations with their more intimate officials while continually monitoring local officials in the parish. They were to examine clerks within twenty-eight days of their preferment to office in which time they were bound to license or reject the appointee. The prelacy, although more tightly bound to their most trusted officials, were nevertheless concerned about the proper management of their diocese and the officials responsible for achieving this. Bishops were invested with the authority to administer the rite of confirmation to ordain priests and deacons and were capable of administering the church and its property. The prelate was responsible for selecting his officials, maintaining an intimate relation with those officials more directly under his authority, directing the method of administration and instruction of ecclesiastical policy. However, it was a community of administrative and judicial officials, under the guidance of the prelate, who represented the epicenter of diocesan management.

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[158] The diocesan consistory court and officials of the archbishop of Canterbury were located in Canterbury and his provincial administration was located in London.

[159] Suffragan bishops were "appointed to assist diocesan bishops in their pontifical functions when hindered by infirmity, public affairs or other causes," *S. V.* 'Bishops,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. IV, p. 3.

The administrative and judicial officials will be discussed according to the area with which they were most often associated, where the majority of their responsibilities lay, their influence over their area of business and their relations with other officials. Although I will discuss the diocesan officials according to their most intimate involvement with either the administrative or judicial ecclesiastical systems, these officials, along with ecclesiastical courts, were in continual interaction with other members of the church and their business transactions.[160]

A group of officials responsible for the administrative governance within the diocese, and most often in direct contact with the bishop, included the bishop's chancellor, secretary, registrar, dean and chapter.[161] The chancellor of the diocese was also the keeper of the bishop's seal and his jurisdiction was rather broad in that the offices of the vicar-general and the official principal were normally both held by the chancellor. The chancellors of the archbishops of York and Canterbury held jurisdiction over the whole of each province.

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[160] For visual simplicity I have provided a hierarchical structure of the officials and their duties. However, I do stress the constant interaction between these officials and their offices.

[161] The dean was usually quite influential in the business of the cathedral and usually had the support of at least half of the chapter: "the dean certainly appeared powerful and his authority over some aspects of chapter activity was wide: the receiver and treasurer, the main administrative officers, were his deputies rather than his equals; so far as the discipline of the minor members of the corporation was concerned, the dean had absolute jurisdiction," Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal (eds.), *Continuity and Change*, p. 131.

Both the secretary and the registrar were close confidants of the bishop. His secretary supervised the bishop's relations with his officials and handled the bishop's correspondence with the crown and High Commission. The secretary was called upon to function as a notary when the bishop was performing a legal action such as an institution or receiving a resignation from a benefice. The bishop sought the advice of his secretary not only on matters relating to legal administration but also on a wide range of topics concerning the management and business of his diocese. The registrar was another member of the bishop's officials who held great authority in diocesan administration. The register's influence on diocesan administration has been long overlooked. Rosemary O'Day has established a connection between the role and importance of the registrar to the effective management of diocesan business and has stressed that "during the early modern period the registrar of a diocese was indeed second in importance only to the chancellor."[162] The registrar dealt extensively with court transactions and was responsible for the accounts of receipts and payments of his superior official, recording proceedings of the consistory and chancery courts and keeping records of visitations and terriers sent in by the churchwardens. Like the chancellor, the registrar had deputies and clerks to perform more mundane and routine functions and was often replaced by his deputies in court. The importance of the registrar may be first acknowledged by the fact that he was appointed by formal letters and usually held office for life.

The responsibilities of the registrar greatly developed over the early modern period: "the registrar's role became more complex as he no longer merely recorded the bishop's actions, letters and instructions but himself issued the instruments which gave these force of law."[163] If an offender's crime did not warrant the attention of the bishop, the registrar held the power to decide whether or not an offender should be prosecuted in the courts. However, what was even more important was his ability to manipulate the system and rely upon well-established relations to assist him in his actions. The laity were aware of his influence and tried to win his confidence onto their side and direct his sentencing in their favour. The registrar had considerable legal expertise on the local or parochial level. He was able to consult advocates for advice and used bribes, incentives and patronage systems to direct his course of action. He was ultimately able to convince the clergy, parishioners and lay officials that he held considerable power within the courts and held influential connections with other members of the ecclesiastical administrative system.[164]

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[162] *Ibid*, p. 93. As a result of the neglect of enquiry into the daily apparatus of diocesan officials, the interactions between them and their duties, and their contribution to the ecclesiastical structure of governance and to ecclesiastical policy, their significance as instrumental figures in diocesan administration has been severely overlooked.

The ecclesiastical judicial system also contained a number of officials who were responsible for the proper maintenance and operations of the courts. Archdeacons were assigned to each diocese to present candidates for ordination by the bishop, to inspect the church in the archdeaconry and to undertake an annual visit of the clergy and churchwardens of every parish. The archdeacon was intimately connected to both his supervisor, the bishop, and to his subordinates, the churchwardens. He was responsible to the bishop for transferring his policies and instructions into the localities and was responsible for ensuring that the churchwardens were executing their duties. Churchwardens were often critical of the actions of the archdeacon and the methods used in the archdeacon's court. It is important to stress the fact that churchwardens, including other subordinate officials, were often critical of the methods and actions of their superiors rather than their actual responsibilities and policies. Finally the vicar-general (ie. the bishop's chancellor) presided over the Court of Audience and assisted the bishop during his visitations. This office was originally created to dilute the authority of the archdeacons.

Both the administrative and judicial responsibilities of diocesan officials were present in the office of the 'middle-man' of local diocesan government.[165]

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[163] *Ibid*, p. 79. The "efficient and just administration of the courts was dependent upon the registrar's abilities and willingess to exercise his powers responsibly," *Ibid*, p. 82.

[164] Other members of the administrative organ of diocesan business included auditors who were responsible for the revenues of episcopal estates.

"Churchwardens stood in a position overlapped by two worlds. On the one hand they were overseers of parochial resources and on the other they were servants of ecclesiastical policy," J. S. Craig, "Co-operation and Inititiatives: Elizabethan Churchwardens and the Parish Accounts of Mildenhall," *Social History* 18 (1993), p. 359.

The churchwarden has been described as the 'church militant' and the guardian of the fabric and people of the parish church. He was usually a lay person acting as the representative of the parishioners in holding and administering property that had been bequeathed to the church. Some of the churchwarden's responsibilities included raising funds for specific parochial expenditure such as repair of church fabric, keeping order during the service, safe keeping the ornaments of the church and repairing the church and churchyard. The legal authority of the churchwarden included his power to act as the legal representative of parishioners and to present offences against ecclesiastical law to the archdeacon. In the administrative aspect of church business, the churchwarden was responsible for reporting all absentees to the archdeacon, for presenting the annual balance sheet of parish funds to the archdeacon and for assisting in the administration of the Poor Law. In 1571, Archbishop Grindal drew up for the diocese of York instructions for the churchwardens to follow and for the archdeacons and bishops to oversee.[166] This was an attempt to standardize the requirements and duties expected of the churchwardens.

The amount of administrative and legal duties that the churchwarden was responsible for illustrates not only the volume and complexity of diocesan business but also illustrates the importance of the churchwarden in diocesan administration and the necessity for his relations with other officials.[167] Due to the quantity of his duties and responsibilities the office of churchwarden was regarded as an extremely onerous one. They were expected to manage the parishioners and the fabric of the church and obey their superiors while at the same time perform both administrative and judicial activities for the archdeacon and the bishop. The office of the churchwarden was severely tested and, therefore, it is "of little surprise to discover that the office of churchwarden was regarded as one to be avoided if possible."[168]

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[166] These instructions included holding office for one year, giving an account of the church's financial state to the vestry, responsibility for all things necessary for public worship, consulting with the bishop prior to selling or disposing of church goods, presenting to the archdeacon all unlicensed schoolmasters, midwives, surgeons, reporting all drunkards or absentees to the archdeacon and visiting alehouses to see who was absent from church service.

[167] Without the churchwardens the "Elizabethan system never would have worked," W. P. M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, p. cxxxi.

[168] John Addy, *The Archdeacon and Ecclesiastical Discipline in Yorkshire 1598-1714: Clergy and the Churchwardens* (York, 1963), p. 21.

Like the churchwarden, the apparitors have been described as the 'policemen of the diocese.' They were responsible for the commissary and other church courts. One apparitor was appointed to each deanery and worked in close association with the churchwardens, archdeacons and bishops. They were employed to cite persons to court or to attend visitations, to inform the churchwardens of any offenders against church law (so the churchwardens could present them to the ecclesiastical judge), to inform the bishop quarterly of any case where proceedings taken against offenders had been stopped and for what reason, and if any public penance had been commuted for a payment of money. He was also expected to send quarterly to the bishop lists of recusants, heretics and other heresies against the Church of England, lists of non-resident incumbents, chancels needing repair, lack of services and sermons and unlawful marriages. In these regards the apparitors and the churchwardens were very similar and appear to almost reinforce each other's ability to complete the necessary administrative and legal tasks.

Finally, at the most local level of the ecclesiastical structure were the curates, parsons, vicars, rectors, chaplains, deacons and parish clerks. These members of the church of England were more intimately connected to the administration of spiritual or religious needs rather than the management of diocesan business. The clergyman in charge of a parish, whether his title was curate, parson, vicar and rector were responsible for the spiritual welfare of parishioners.[169] They were responsible for delivering the morning and evening prayers, administering communion and ensuring that regulations for banns and licenses were carried out. The chaplain was a priest or minister without parochial charge who conducted the service in the chapel.[170] The deacon assisted the priest in divine service, read Holy Scriptures and Homilies in the church, performed baptisms in the absence of a priest and conducted any of the ordinary services in the church but was not permitted to pronounce the absolution or consecrate the elements for the Eucharist. The office of deacon was basically a stepping stone for the office of ordained priest. The parish clerk was a layman who performed duties in cathedrals and churches and was responsible for the care of the church. A parish clerk was always required to be present at every service to sing or say the responses to the leader and to assist in baptisms and marriages.[171]

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[169] The title of curate applied to an incumbent of a parish who has no endowment of tithes versus a vicar who has endowment of small tithes. In the Middle Ages rectories were held by religious houses which drew the bulk of tithes and appointed vicars to do the work, therefore, the rector was usually richer than the vicar.

Each member of the church contributed to the daily operation and management of diocesan government. Their offices and duties often overlapped and this resulted in the increased amount of interaction between officials. Ecclesiastical officials, whether involved more intimately with administrative or legal activities, worked harmoniously together within a well organized structure of governance. Although discrepancies existed from one diocese to another, the broad structure of ecclesiastical government was supported by a flexible system that was easily adjusted to accommodate local needs. Relations, liaisons and patronage systems between officials, lay and ecclesiastical, were necessary for the proper management of diocesan government. When problems arose, and most assuredly they did, they were corrected according to the character and skills of the men involved. The combination of local diversity, the character and skills of ecclesiastical officials, their knowledge of management and administration and their relations with other officials shaped the structure of the early modern ecclesiastical administrative and judicial systems.

5. Structure of Ecclesiastical Courts

The distinction between church courts, like diocesan officials, was not always clear-cut and predictable. The ecclesiastical court structure was flexible and this flexibility was used, manipulated and restructured by court officials when they thought it was necessary. Diocesan courts operated within a mutually organized and cohesive system; however, within each diocese the courts and the officials responsible for ecclesiastical jurisdiction administered court business according to local needs and resources: "While church courts transacted a uniform type of business, there was no one uniform pattern for the country."[172] Diversity within diocesan courts was able to exist because the broader structure and management of ecclesiastical courts was well established. Knowledge of routine business and judicial action was a common feature among diocesan

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[170] The parochial or auxiliary chaplain was appointed by a parish priest or bishop to take over certain specified duties which he is unable to perform himself.

[171] Under the parish clerk there were several other lesser ecclesiastical offices related to local administration. These included the high-steward, under-steward, keepers, porters, bailiffs etc.

officials. Moreover, just as officials relied upon their colleagues for advice, support and sometimes intervention in diocesan administration, so too can a complex system of social networks, loyalties and patronage systems be found embedded within the structure of court administration. Liaisons between the actual function of the courts and the responsibilities of its officers worked to maintain an efficient, manageable and accommodating system of governance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

i. The Provinces of York and Canterbury

A basic description of the church courts will be necessary to outline the function of each court and the duties and responsibilities expected of court officials. The basic structure of ecclesiastical courts was similar in the provinces of York and Canterbury [Appendix IV – Tables 2 and 3]. Both provinces held a Prerogative court, a court of Audience, a Consistory court, the Convocation of the Province and the court of Peculiars. Moreover, the archbishops of York and Canterbury exercised their responsibility through a Master of Faculty, known as the Faculty Office.[173] Finally, the judicial activities of these courts ultimately fell under the authority of the High Court of Delegates and were subject to the temporal influence of the monarch and Lord Chancellor. Subsequently, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority of the archbishops were subordinate to the crown and the crown's most trusted officials in privy council: "Being a statutory body it [High Commission] was not a court Christian but a secular court dealing with church discipline."[174] This statement recognizes the cohesiveness of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction in the post-reformation structure of church administration and organization of church offices. The same notion of a more intimate connection between the functions and duties of church and state courts and administration can also be applied to the episcopacy and ecclesiastical officials. The bishops were an extremely knowledgeable community of governors who, for the most part, maintained an active role in both the political and spiritual administration of early modern society.

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[172] Ronald Marchant, *The Church Under the Law*, p. 14.

[173] The faculty office was created in 1533 after dispensations were granted to the archbishop and the lord chancellor, otherwise known as the Dispensation Act. The Faculty Office issued a mass of documents covering a wide range of activities such as licenses to preach, to teach, to practice medicine, surgery or midwifery, dispensations for holding benefices in plurality, for ordinances, etc. See G. H. Newsom, *Faculty Jurisdiction of the Church of England* (London, 1988).

The High Court of Delegates, or High Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, was established by the Act of Supremacy in which the crown delegated its authority over the church to ecclesiastical commissioners. The judges for each case were appointed by the Lord Chancellor and these commissioners were granted the authority to undertake any ecclesiastical enforcement that was deemed necessary. It was the duty of the High Commission to investigate and punish major crimes through the use of secular sanctions. As this court was able to imprison or fine those brought before their jurisdiction there was a temporal influence over ecclesiastical courts. The court of High Commission was presided over by the archbishop of Canterbury; therefore, its jurisdiction was in theory limited to the southern province. However, in practice the archbishop and his officials could and did interfere in the judicial proceedings and court procedures of the province of York.

The Court of Audience, Prerogative Court and the Court of Peculiars were dominant features of the ecclesiastical judicial structure in both the provinces of York and Canterbury. The Court of Audience, more commonly known as the Court of Chancery in York, was the central and most commonly used administrative organ in each province. It dispensed civil, criminal and administrative justice, performed administrative function, proved wills and granted administration of clerical estates. The court was presided over by the vicar-general or chancellor, these two offices usually accumulated in one person, who was responsible for all administrative business. This was a 'court of the first instance' which heard cases by way of complaint, rather than by way of appeal.

The Prerogative court was responsible for supervising the rights of the archbishop in matters testamentary.[175] Although the church was never entitled to regulate the disposal of estates and other property, the prerogative court was allowed to regulate goods exceeding five pounds or more in value in more than one ecclesiastical jurisdiction, moveable goods and debts. The archbishop of Canterbury dispensed preferment for the office of judge in the prerogative court within his province. This court was established to protect the archbishop's authority, provide a venue to dispense episcopal policy and to illuminate ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Finally, the Court of Peculiars was responsible for all

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[174] Ronald Marchant, *The Church Under the Law*, p. 4.

judicial business and ecclesiastical matters in the parishes that were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. When the geographical features of the dioceses were reorganized after the Reformation certain areas maintained their independence from diocesan jurisdiction.

There are also several courts that were unique to each province. For instance, the Court of Arches was the appellate court for the province of Canterbury. Established by the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Act of 1532, it was responsible for hearing, in the first instance, suits that were sent to it by letters of request from the consistory courts of the bishops in the province of Canterbury. Its jurisdiction often expanded west as it usually heard testamentary and matrimony cases from the dioceses of Wales.

In the province of York the Admiralty Court of York was a network of vice-admiralty courts that were subordinate to the High Court of Admiralty. These vice-admiralty courts "were regional secular courts comparable with constistory courts. Their fees were also similar, except that they were more heavily weighted in favour of the judge."[176] The local vice-admiral usually appointed the judge in his court. Likewise, the Council in the North, which operated under a Lord President, was an extension of the privy council. It was a permanent administrative and judicial council with tenured legal members, an attorney general and a bar of practicing barristers.

Apart from these archiepiscopal courts, each diocese functioned as a separate and distinct corporation. The consistory court of the bishop and the archdiaconal court of the archdeacon were responsible for judicial proceedings in each diocese and were presided over by the official principal, vicar-general or chancellor.[177] As the consistory court was the normal and most frequently used court of law in the diocese it heard all suits brought forward between parties. Therefore, it was capable of operating a large and complex corporate structure of offices and officials. As a result of the great volume of business directed towards the consistory court, it developed into an intricate and flexible machine of governance.

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[175] In the province of York, the Prerogative Court was not established until 1577. Prior to this date probates were granted in the Exchequer Court of York.

[176] Ronald Marchant, *The Church Under the Law*, p. 190.

The routine business of both the provincial and diocesan courts consisted of probates and administrations, granting of licenses, institutions, other incomes and visitations.[178] Ecclesiastical courts were responsible for proving wills and granting administration of estates and for granting licenses for preachers, surgeons, schoolmasters, curates and midwives. The courts received fees and other incomes through their use of institutions and visitations. If an incumbent was to be granted to a new benefice, he would have to pay legal charges for the drawing up of the deed, fees of institution, induction, and various fees for the survey of the lands and for the first visitation by the bishop and archdeacon. Fees accompanied many of the routine business and cases that were brought before each court; therefore, competition between the courts of the archdeacon and bishop was a normal occurrence within the jurisdiction of the bishopric. However, this is not to deny that liaisons, networks and relations existed among diocesan and provincial courts and officials. At the broadest level, the ecclesiastical court system was based upon a common structure of accommodation and flexibility. Administration and operations of the courts were maintained through a network of knowledgeable and capable body of officials. The bishop selected his officials based upon specific criteria, such as his own relation with the candidate, his knowledge of administration and the diversity of the region and locality. The bishop and his officials gave a unique character to diocesan management; however, both the episcopacy and their officials, as a community of governors, illustrated familiarity with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the skills necessary to operate a large and complex judicial and administrative business and a mutual commitment to ecclesiastical policy. Diocesan government reflected the larger organization of ecclesiastical policy and jurisdiction; however, it is at the level of the diocese and parish that the character of the men, both the bishop and his officials, becomes more pronounced. This aspect of the Church of England is crucial for understanding what constituted governance at the local, regional and national level. It is through an examination of the relations between the men, bishop, officials and gentry and between

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[177] The archdeacon's court put questions to the clergy regarding moral and statutory services. The auditor usually acted as judge and the archdeacon, official principal, two notaries public and apparitors were to be present during questioning.

[178] See chapter VI.

structures, judicial and administrative systems, that we may understand the social and political nuances of the early modern church and its influence on society.[179]

6. Conclusion

An examination of the men who held ecclesiastical offices and the relations, networks and interactions between them will provide a more comprehensive understanding of diocesan administration. Bishops and their officials were for the most part extremely knowledgeable in the management of a corporate structure, whether academic or political, and this knowledge was transferred to the ecclesiastical structure. J. V. P. Thompson argued that the Elizabethan ecclesiastical administrators were ill-equipped to operate church property, finances and personnel: "hardly one of these men [bishops] had any previous administrative experience."[180] This statement is clearly suspect and it does not allow for the fact that ecclesiastical administration at the local, diocesan and national level operated smoothly without any serious threat to the structure, policy and personnel of the church. The majority of bishops and their officials were extremely knowledgeable in administration and legal operations and, in fact, most were educated formally in law. If an official was unfortunate enough not to receive any formal education at the university level then he learned by holding both secular and spiritual offices, by instruction by his superiors and through a common understanding of the expected duties of ecclesiastical officials. Most bishops held influential positions in the universities and in the state apparatus [Appendix IV – Table 4, Appendix III – Table 9, Appendix V – Tables 1 and 2]. Bishops were most certainly a community of governors with a cohesive and experienced guild of subordinate officials. The relations between the prelacy and their officials were by no means congenial and in fact they were fractious at times; however, the bishop's officials never questioned episcopal jurisdiction or policy. And, most importantly, administrative governance at the level of the parish, diocese and province continued to operate efficiently even when an office remained vacant for a period of time.

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[179] The course of action in the courts was dependent upon the custom of the court, the volume of business, the knowledge, skill and character of the bishop and his officials, regional and local diversity and available resources and the way in which the case was brought to the attention of the judge. As it is my concern to examine the relations, structure and character of the episcopacy, I have not included a detailed analysis or explanation for routine procedures of the courts. For further explanation see Chapter 2 in Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People*.

[180] J. V. P. Thompson, *Supreme Governor: A Study of Elizabethan Ecclesiastical Polity and Circumstance* (London, 1940), p. 22.

Chapter IV Social Relations, Network Alliances and Patronage Systems

1. Secular Offices and Political Involvement

The 'prelate as pastor' has not been the only characteristic role proposed for the early Stuart bishops. They have also been assigned the role of politicians and court competitors alongside the gentry and nobility. James I was well aware of his bishops' administrative expertise and influence as a vehicle of royal supremacy.[181] Many bishops, like Andrewes and Harsnett, already possessed the skills needed to succeed in Jacobean politics[182] and others, such as Whitgift, Bancroft, Abbot, Bilson, Laud and Williams, held influential administrative positions at Oxford and Cambridge among other secular offices.

Many bishops saw the political stage as a means to gain or further consolidate support from the nobility and leading figures at court. For example, parliamentary sessions "provided an ideal opportunity for the bishop to make or renew acquaintances among the gentry, and transact matters of common interest."[183] Several bishops, including Neile, Morton and Harsnett, attended Parliament regularly and took their responsibilities seriously. There is a clear value in further research of the bishops' role in parliament and as a political force in the Jacobean court.[184]

The amount of time and energy a bishop spent on such duties affected the time and energy he could devote to the spiritual needs of his diocese. This in turn influenced his ecclesiastical policy and aims for reform: "the variety of secular and spiritual responsibilities which a bishop was expected to fulfill made him the most overburdened official in early modern government."[185] Late Elizabethan and early Stuart bishops were able administrators who were devoted as much to their secular duties as to their spiritual ones.[186] The sources available for studying the administrative duties of the bishops are as rich in content as they are vast in quantity:

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[181] "[The] episcopate was too important and useful to exclude from the centers of power," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 40. James I encourage "the episcopate to resume its traditional role at court as councilors and confidants of the crown," *Ibid*, p. 35.

[182] "Most [bishops] possessed a knowledge of government and had acquired a taste for leadership," *Ibid*, p. 21.

[183] *Ibid*, p. 101. In fact, some bishops [Bancroft, Abbot, Neile, Barlow, Mountague and Williams] took an active and committed role in parliament: "a number of other bishops became influential parliamentarians," *Ibid*, p. 60.

[184] "The extent to which prelates had ties of clientage or connection with M.P.s and the significance of such ties as may have existed need investigation," Esther Cope, "The Bishops and Parliamentary Politics in Early Stuart England," *Parl. Hist.* 9 (1990), p. 2. "The [House of Lords] attendance record of these twelve bishops was pretty respectable by contemporary standards," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, pp. 98-9.

[185] *Ibid*, p. 4.

> The mountainous and still only partially explored records of spiritual administration and justice…in bishops' registers, the copious information amassed in visitation, and the act books, bulky deposition books, and thick bundles of cause papers which have been left behind by the ecclesiastical courts. The exploitation of a mere tithe of this material has been the most impressive recent development in sixteenth and seventeenth century ecclesiastical studies.[187]

The late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy were active participants in the political arena and in court politics: a fact supported by the number of secular offices they held and their active involvement in state politics [Appendix V – Tables 1 and 2]. Nine prelates were appointed to the privy council, one was a Master of Requests and another was a member of the Order of the Garter.[188] Another six prelates were intensely involved in border affairs. Babington, Bellot, James, Morton and Whitgift were all involved in maintaining a peaceful, or at least tolerable, relation along the northern border of England and Scotland. Concerning this northern unrest, these prelates were also responsible for raising musters of armed men to enforce the policies dictated from London.[189] The prelates' responsibility of implementing secular policies both within and beyond their diocesan borders was a natural expectation enforced by parliament.

To what extent did the bishop's involvement in state business influence his ability to administer effectively to the needs of his diocesan government? It was normal for the bishop of a northern diocese to hold a secular position capable of enforcing politics in the north. For instance, James and Morton, as bishops of Durham, were called upon to raise musters for the state as an attempt to maintain peace in the north of England. Morton's familiarity with the problems and circumstances associated with the northern region made him an attractive candidate for the office of Lord President of the North. Morton's focus on his ecclesiastical policies and diocesan government was perhaps complemented by the close geographical proximity of his spiritual and secular duties. His ability in secular administration also gained him a seat on the Council of Marches and eventually the office of Vice-President of the North. His position on the Council of Marches may have interfered with his duties of administering to the needs of his diocese; however, a bishop's secular and spiritual duties tended to be assigned with regard to the location both of his diocese and that of the area in which the duties in question were to be discharged.[190]

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[186] "70% of the bench of bishops in 1603 had previously been heads of Oxbridge colleges, deans of cathedral churches or archdeacons…80% had exercised some jurisdiction before their consecration," *Ibid*, p. 20. Several other bishops such as Bridgeman and Neile "seem to have relished the administrative challenge that faced them, *Ibid*, p. 109.

[187] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 61.

[188] George and Robert Abbot, Bancroft, Bilson, Cox, Harsnett, Laud, Neile and Whitgift were all on the privy council. Cox held the position of Master of Requests while Bennet was a member of the Order of the Garter.

[189] In 1613, James, bishop of Durham, writes to the privy council regarding the "particulars of the muster in the county of 400 trained and 400 untrained men," *SP 14/80/116*. Bishops of northern dioceses were not the only prelates expected to raise musters. Archbishop Bancroft informed the bishop of Lincoln, in 1608, to inquire into the ability of his clergy to raise arms within his diocese. See *Cal. Hast. MSS 1543-1750*, Vol. IV, p. 196.

For the most part, episcopal advancement to secular offices remained dependent upon the geographical location of their bishoprics. This system of ecclesiastical and secular advancement worked to promote consistency rather than friction between the prelate's roles as spiritual and secular overseer. For example, Babington and Bellot were both assigned to the Council of Marches, with Babington gaining the office of Vice-President. Babington, bishop of Worcester, and Bellot, bishop of Chester, were prelates whose close geographical proximity between secular and spiritual duties aimed to reduce the possibility of neglecting their episcopal duties.[191]

The prelates' administrative capabilities were reflected in their translation to sees that were either more closely connected to the center of politics and parliament (being those of London or Canterbury) or of greater prestige and wealth (such as Durham and York). Williams and Fletcher illustrate the importance of the prelates' administrative capabilities in political affairs.

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[190] Lloyd has described Whitgift's commitment to his duties as spiritual governor and preacher of his diocese as remaining, for the most part, free from overwhelming encroachment onto his secular duties as a councillor of the Marches: "[he] was so assiduous in preaching, that even after he was bishop of Worcester, unless extraordinary business of the marches of Wales, hindered him, he never failed to preach every Sunday," *B. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 4256.

[191] Morton and Whitgift also held the office of vice-presidents of the Marches. Although their dioceses were not indicative of the usual geographical relationship between secular and spiritual offices, their rise to vice-presidency was a reflection of their administrative

Williams, as archbishop of York, has been described as a "statesman and a pillar of the kingdom,"[192] being well versed and "studied [in] the books of the exchequer."[193] He was also familiar with the law and was "always ready to give his assistance in any difficulties."[194] Likewise, Fletcher had gained valuable experience in public affairs as a civil servant in Scotland, Russia, Germany and the Low Countries.[195] The prelates' knowledge of the administrative machinery of governance enhanced their opportunity for ecclesiastical and secular advancement among the leading political figures at court and parliament.

Hugh Trevor-Roper's thesis of prelates as "time-serving careerists" and Fincham's thesis of "prelate as pastor" present two extremes. It would be more plausible to describe bishops as occupying a position somewhere between the two. The late Elizabethan and early Stuart bishops fulfilled their roles as spiritual leaders in conjunction with, not contrary to, their roles as political players. The intensity with which these prelates fulfilled each role was unique to each man and ultimately depended upon the amount of energy and dedication they chose to apply.

2. Debates in Parliament

Parliament provided an opportunity for spiritual and lay lords to meet and discuss business.[196] Points of contact between prelate and lord, and even among prelates themselves, were often restricted by geographical barriers, weather conditions and episcopal duties. It was at parliament that bishops voiced the concerns of their diocesan officials, established and consolidated patronage systems and quarreled over theological and political issues.[197] Although the majority of bishops regularly attended parliament as members of the House of

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capabilities, not to mention the importance of Whitgift's position as Archbishop of Canterbury.

[192] *B. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 4278.

[193] *Ibid.*

[194] *Ibid.*

[195] See *Cal. Sal. MSS 1609-1612*, Vol. XXI, p. 79.

[196] Parkhurst and other prelates conducted their business around the sessions of parliament: "Yf the parlament had contynewed, I wold haue sene you, which is differred till a longer day," Ralph A. Houlbrooke (ed.), *The Letter-Book of Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich* (Norfolk Record Society, 1974 and 1975), p. 225. Parkhurst states that he will make his defense (against accusations made by some gentlemen towards Parkhurst and the Church of England) when the next session of parliament begins: "and by my defence vntill my comyng up," *Ibid*, p. 137.

Lords, Mathew was the only prelate to vote in the lower house.[198] The debate in the House of Lords in 1614 regarding their conference with the lower house did not reflect a preoccupation of the episcopacy with social status, political involvement and accumulation of wealth as much as it reflected the concern for maintaining patronage systems with the lords and providing regular point of contact. In the debate over the issues concerning both houses the majority of bishops agreed to listen to the lower house or chose to occupy a neutral stance.[199] The House of Lords was an essential, and necessary, point of contact between the spiritual and secular governors of England where communication lines and patronage systems occupied center stage.[200]

3. Preferments

> There mett that cowarde St. Neot, Prelats to him did I see Paying golde for bishopricke The Cheefe was Dr. Fotherby.[201]

Accusations of personal enrichment and advancement against the episcopacy were common among leading political figures at court and parliament. However, this perception is probably more indicative of the often competitive relationship that existed between spiritual and lay lords rather than the actual practices of the episcopacy. It has already been mentioned that the marital status of the bishop and his commitment to family, further fuelled by his patriarchal duty, heightened his sense of responsibility in establishing a level of financial security. Furthermore, advancing his kin relations would help to promote a good working relationship between himself and his officials and the

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[197] Prelates were active in passing bills relating to their diocesan officials. For discussions on theological issues concerning ceremonies and the Sabbath see *Cal. Hast. MSS*, Vol. IV, pp. 266-7.

[198] *DNB*, Vol. XIII, p. 62.

[199] The bishop of Lincoln was the only bishop who was strongly opposed to the meeting with the lower house: "I think it a dangerous thing for us to confer with them about the point of impositions," *Cal. Hast. MSS*, Vol. IV, p. 249. Although the bishop of Bristol believed that the lower house had no value he did not show the same attitude as the bishop of Lincoln. The archbishop of York, and the bishops of Bath and Wells and of St. Asaph all supported a conference with the lower house.

[200] Although my focus has been directed towards the point of contact between prelates and leading political figures, it should also be mentioned that Convocation, which met every time parliament convened, was another opportunity for meeting with other prelates. Little is known about debates in Convocation; the institution still awaits close historical scrutiny.

[201] *Cal. Sal. MSS 1605-69*, Vol. XXIV, p. 236. Written by the earl of Salisbury, date unknown.

successful enforcement of his ecclesiastical policies within his diocese. Prelates publicly denounced these insults and ardently defended themselves from accusations of personal promotion and elevation: "the lower house have said there that I [bishop of Lincoln] have fore and twenty-church livings and prefermentes I doe acknowledge that all I have is from the king's favour and those honorable personnages that preferred preferment."[202]

The relationship between spiritual and lay lord, and subsequently patron and client, was one of reciprocity [Appendix V – Table 3]. Both spiritual and lay lord depended upon each other's support and willingness to listen and to accept, when necessity or circumstance permitted, their recommendations for preferment. Bishops demonstrated their ecclesiastical policies and theological preferences to their patrons to a living and peers of the realm by preferring officials to positions within ecclesiastical and political social structures.[203] The peer's and patron's decision whether or not to accept the bishop's proposal for preferment was a statement of his acceptance of his ecclesiastical policy. More importantly, preferment maintained and reaffirmed the ties between patron and client. This cohesive, yet flexible, system of preferment reinforced the supportive relations between spiritual and secular lords, enabling the episcopacy to remain an important element within the political arena.

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[202] *Cal. Hast. MSS*, Vol. IV, p. 275. Bishop Fotherby also protested loudly that he had given nothing for his promotion nor sought his elevation for personal gain. See *SP14/97/33*. This is not to deny that bishops never sought to be translated to wealthier sees; however, the evidence illustrates that they merely suggested their desire to be translated and never pursued the matter at any great length. The bishop of Carlisle writes to the Earl of Salisbury: "I may upon the vacancy of that see [London] be preferred to a place of better maintenance than I have found in this," *Cal. Sal. MSS 1607*, Vol. IV, p. 87. Also, where bishops did suggest ecclesiastical advancements or translations to other sees they were usually unsuccessful. In 1569 Overton "made an ineffectual application for the archdeanery of Lewes as he did in 1570 for the deanery of Chichester, on the vacancy occasioned by the election of Dr. Richard Curteys to the bishopric of that place," *Athen. Cantab.*, p. 515.

[203] In 1609 the bishop of Durham attempted to persuade the earl of Salisbury to accept a different candidate for a secular position because he believed the candidate to be a papist. Therefore, the bishop suggested other candidates whom he believed to be more suitable. See *Cal. Sal. MSS, 1609-12*, Vol. XXI, p. 132. Elizabethan prelates faced difficulties, of course, in promoting their own recruitments to church offices: "while episcopal ordinations provided a pool of potential recruits for the ministry at the parochial level, patrons were the ones who selected and presented these men to livings," Scott A. Wenig,

4. Secular and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: Lords Spiritual and Lords Secular

> The lack thereof, thoughe I [Bishop Aylmer] beare it nowe for your office sake (which I nede not), yet the next yere I may remember it, when by gods grace I ame like to be as I ame, and you [the Lord Mayor of London] somewhat inferior to that, that you are.[204]

John Aylmer's letter to the Mayor of London expressed his annoyance with the mayor's interference in what he understood to be ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Aylmer claimed that he had been wrongly mistreated at the hands of secular officers[205] and, therefore, attempted to instruct the mayor about the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction.[206] Aylmer clearly stated his position as spiritual governor and therefore claimed all matters concerning ecclesiastical officials to be under his sole authority.[207] According to Aylmer, the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the episcopacy occupied a superior status and more privileged position than those of the secular governors.[208]

Straightening the Altars: The Ecclesiastical Vision and Pastoral Achievements of the Progressive Bishops under Elizabeth I 1559-1579 (New York, 2000), p. 149.

[204] William S. Simpson (ed.), "Letter From Bishop Aylmer to the Lord Mayor, 1581," *Camden Society*, Vol. 26, p. 129.

[205] "Ah, my lord, I have never spoken or thought unreverently of you, nor have I been so used at any of your predecessors hands," *Ibid*.

[206] Aylmer prepared the mayor to be instructed on the lawful jurisdictional authority of the episcopacy: "I must tell yow your dutie out of my chaire, which is the pulpit at Paules crosse where yow must sitt not as a iudge to comptrole but as a scholler to learne; and I not as John Aelmer to be thwarted but as John London to teache yow," *Ibid*, p. 130.

[207] "I heare that yow deale very hardly with the p[re]achers and Clergie the ouersight of whome god and Her Matie hath comitted unto me," *Ibid*, p. 128.

[208] Aylmer's perception of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction may be contrasted with that of a civil servant. In 1571, the mayor of Norwich directly confronted episcopal authority, in the person of John Parkhurst, concerning 'temporall affaires.' The mayor questioned the ability of the consistory court to pass judgements on matters that could be handled by secular authorities. Although the mayor acknowledged the prelate's desire to the contrary, he expresses his rightful authority over matters touching upon the city: "Although your lordship have written to the contrarye….he hath sygnified to myne officer your lordship will meddle no more therin," *Letter-Book of John Parkhurst*, p. 96. Likewise, ecclesiastical officers desired to maintain some independence in their administration of diocesan business. In 1598, the dean and chapter of Wells instructed the registrar that he will be assigned to his office under the condition that he take an oath not to intermeddle in the affairs concerning the dean and chapter: "The office of register to the bishop of Bath and Wells is granted to Edward Huishe, notary public, and his assigns, on the condition that neither he nor they "shall intermeddle with the fees, profitts

Catherine Patterson has examined the disputes between ecclesiastical authority and secular corporations. She illustrates that nearly all cathedral cities experienced hostility between ecclesiastical and civil authorities and, yet, for the most part disputes were settled out of court. Many town corporations accused bishops of attempting to extend ecclesiastical and cathedral jurisdiction at the expense of civic authority.[209] Likewise, many bishops complained of civic encroachment upon their jurisdiction and some even publicly voiced their displeasure with state officials. Prior to the 1620s, when disputes arose between ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction, which was so often the case, royal involvement was minimal if not completely absent.[210] However, later in the reign of James I, the crown began to take a more active role in supporting ecclesiastical jurisdiction against city corporations.[211] Patterson concludes that the church was gaining greater authority and legal jurisdiction in both secular and spiritual responsibilities. During the reign of James I, then, the privileges of the church gradually became more intensely regulated and supported by the crown and royal prerogative.[212]

5. Introduction and Sources for Ecclesiastical Relations

The most important component within the structure of a diocese was the bishops' parishioners and administrative personnel. The relationship between the prelate and all other levels of the 'great chain of being,' both of the ecclesiastical

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or commodyties any way appertayning or belonging unto the registers of the dean and the deane and chapter of the cathedrall church of Wells for the tyme beyng," *Cal. Wells. MSS*, p. 336.

[209] Bishop Coldwell was constantly accused by the citizens of Salisbury of injustice and of heightening ecclesiastical interests.

[210] "The crown took an essentially laissez-faire stance, allowing corporations to take advantage of ecclesiastical weakness and expand corporate jurisdiction," Catherine Patterson, "Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown: Local Dispute and Royal Interest in Early Stuart England," *History* 85 (2000), p. 551. For evidence of disputes see *SP14/37/25*, *SP14/80/128* and *Cal. Sal. MSS 1605-68*, Vol. XXIV, p. 96, and *Cal. Sal. MSS 1609-12*, p. 330.

[211] James I and Charles I realized the advantage of supporting episcopal jurisdiction and therefore promoted bishops to both ecclesiastical and secular offices. Prelates, as learned scholars and well-trained administrative officials, were seen as potential supporters of state policies and contributors to social stability. Moreover, establishing a mutual and harmonious working relationship between episcopacy and crown would enable the monarch to control, to some extent, theological consensus among the ministry and parishioners.

[212] By 1609 the crown was beginning to show more support for ecclesiastical jurisdiction: "Mayor and Recorder [may] be of the quorum, but not to intermeddle within the Bishop's Close nor within the 'Goale' of the city during the time of the sessions of the Bishop," *Cal. Sal. MSS 1609-12*, Vol. XXI, p. 330.

and lay hierarchy, is a crucial area for examination;[213] however, the sources are limited. Only two compact collections of letters survive for the social and political relations of the daily administration of bishops and their interactions with their officials.[214] Given the recent interest in the early Stuart episcopacy, it is astonishing that these letter-books have never been exploited.[215] They provide a wealth of valuable information concerning the relations between bishop, political leaders and other diocesan officials and will greatly contribute to our understanding of the intricate social relations that did exist between the episcopacy and their contemporaries.

Although Bentham's letter-book is illustrative of the early Elizabethan episcopacy and, therefore, antedates the focus of this study, it remains an essential source for understanding a prelate's day-to-day associations and administration. Moreover, this source depicts Bentham's own interpretation of his role as one of the leaders of the Church of England and of the character of his diocese, Coventry and Lichfield.

Bentham was greatly concerned with the state of his diocese. He constantly refers to his lack of financial resources, of an effective working ecclesiastical machinery of governance and of his isolation within his diocese.[216]

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[213] "Bishops contributed to the stabilization of the commonwealth in a variety of ways," Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 55. Christopher Hill, R. A Marchant and Margaret Stieg have examined aspects of the administration of the Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy. However, these studies have tended towards an examination of the economic, legal, or purely mechanistic administrative machinery of the bishop's diocese and the functions and procedures of church courts. The interaction between the prelate and his officials is in need of further examination. See Christopher Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church* (1956), R. A. Marchant, *The Church Under the Law* (1969), and Margaret Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Associated University Presses, 1982).

[214] See Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 58. "Much episcopal influence in the social domain was exerted by informal means which were not a matter for record. The clergy had an acknowledged out-of-court role as peacemakers, arbitrating and composing quarrels, inferior clergy at an inferior level, bishops at the level of county and court," *Ibid*, p. 57.

[215] Professor Collinson undervalued the letter-books: "It is unfortunate that both collections illuminate administratively inexperienced bishops coping with the disarray of the early Elizabethan years, so that they give an excessively unfavourable impression," *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 58. Not only were these bishops aware of their positions and duties as Elizabethan prelates but they were also, especially in the case of Parkhurst, well adapted to their position as secular and spiritual leaders. They were aware of the duties expected of them and understood how to approach political figures for aid.

[216] Bentham wrote in 1560, "I am very sore troubled with many matters and have need of many friends and much help," Rosemary O'Day and Joel Berlastsky (eds.), *The Letter-*

Bentham's lack of financial resources forced him constantly to petition the queen and other lords for support, favours and financial assistance: "So it is, right honourable that by extreme necessity I am driven to desire the queens majesty highness for some release of my first fruits."[217] Bentham's penury forced him to rely on the favours of the queen and her advisors, and therefore, conditioned the relations that he established with the lords at court and parliament. Necessity rather than reciprocity best characterizes Bentham's relations with state officials and courtiers in London.[218] Bentham was aware of the necessity of establishing and maintaining a patronage system with the lords and worked to further consolidate these relations.[219]

Bentham's account of his relations with his diocesan officials provides an impressive illustration of the daily administrative dealings between members of the diocesan government. Bentham found his diocesan officials troublesome at best and intransigent at worst: "yet I have been more defaced with that stubborn parson then with any that is within my diocese since that time."[220] Bentham tended to rely on his officials while at the same time occupied a position of authority somewhat inferior to them. In several instances he required the presence and consultation of his officials before deciding upon ecclesiastical business.[221] However, when he approached his diocesan officials for their acceptance of his candidates for advancement, his dean and chapter refused to support his preferments.[222] Bentham's illustration of the possible sort of relations between an Elizabethan prelate, court competitors and diocesan officials provides a basis for studying the early Elizabethan state of affairs. Although similar factious relations continued to exist within the Church of England, the Jacobean

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Book of Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (London: Royal Historical Society, 1974), p. 164.

[217] *Ibid*, p. 135. Many of Bentham's actions illustrate his fear of insulting or losing the favour of the Queen: "besides the danger that we shall incur towards the Queen if we do not withstand it," *Ibid*, p. 174.

[218] Bentham is constantly asked for favours and financial aid from the lords in London and found himself unable to repay the loans: "If I were not so far indebted by borrowing of money at London to pay ordinary fees and other charges," *Ibid*, p. 143.

[219] "I [Bentham] am sorry to offend any godlike man willingly, so I must stay for pleasure of politic men," *Ibid*, p. 190.

[220] *Ibid*.

[221] "And before I come there I can not geve forth any order because I must have my chau[n]cellors counsell and my regesters helpe thereto," *Ibid*, p. 203.

prelacy was able to manage these relations and use them for the benefit of the church. By the early seventeenth century, the roles and duties of the bishops and their diocesan officials were more defined and understood among the members of the church and among lay patrons. The machinery of governance and administrative responsibilities of the church developed into a well established system of management executed by a properly trained and informed corpus of officials. The social relations and networks between members of the church and their lay counterparts were a normal occurrence in the daily operations of the church. However, what differed between the Elizabethan and Jacobean episcopacy and diocesan officials was the ability of the Jacobean church officials to use these networks and patronage systems to enhance the efficiency of spiritual and administrative practices.

The letter-book of Parkhurst, compiled between 1571 and 1575 for the diocese of Norwich, provides a more detailed and descriptive account of the relations between an Elizabethan bishop and his diocesan officials and their roles as spiritual governors of England. As a strong supporter of royal supremacy and advocate of the Church of England, Parkhurst concerned himself with the ecclesiological views of his parishioners and officials.[223] However, as the head of his diocesan government, he was much less concerned with strictly enforcing his active participation in visitations, examining local parishes and performing his political duties.[224]

Parkhurst's letter-book addresses issues concerning the administrative responsibilities and political involvement of the prelate, yet the letter-book is dominated by episodes of problematic relations between prelate and diocesan

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[222] "[I] desyre your lawefull favors in helpying to his smale preferment with your confirmation. Althoughe I have divers tymes wryten unto you yet in no mans cause have I bene more desyrous to obteane my request then in this," *Ibid*, p. 214.

[223] Parkhurst was not only a strong supporter of the monarchy but was also a supporter of a protestant consensus within the Church of England: "better to offend a few persons then to offend God and disobey his prince," Ralph Houlbrooke (ed.), *The Letter-Book of John Parkhurst*, p. 216, and "I would want everything to resemble the church of Zurich," *Ibid*, p. 75.

[224] Parkhurst was forced, by other bishops and high church officials, to examine his parishes and to take an active interest in his diocesan government: "the sharp rebuking letters which I receive from men of authority, all this do bind me to be more diligent herein," *Ibid*, p. 121. Also see p. 157. Likewise, Parkhurst was even less interested in assuming his political duties by taking part in parliament or other political activities: "although I may very evil bare it [parliament], yet would I come up at that time," *Ibid*, p. 137.

officials. In particular, Parkhurst's revenue collector for the crown and episcopacy, Mr. Thimelthorpe, refused to pay subsidies and appointed others to perform duties that were expected of him. Parkhurst constantly refers to the grief and distress from the Thimelthorpe case. The importance of the Thimelthorpe incident in explaining the relations between the prelate and his officials is three-fold.[225] First, the fact that Thimelthorpe was able to escape punishment for his crimes and to delay the resolution of the problem for several years attests to the officials' independence from the authority of the bishop. Secondly, Thimelthorpe's successful deception of the prelate would suggest that the official possessed a stronger identity, and therefore greater influence, among other officials than did the bishop himself. Finally, the Thimelthorpe issue brought the problems of the working relationship between the prelate and his officials to the attention of parliament. Parkhurst presented a bill to parliament, which was approved, "against most cunning tricks and fraudulent deceits of my collector."[226] Parkhurst's legal actions against (and distrust of) his officers are further supported by his constant delegation of blame upon his officials for the failure of diocesan governance.[227] It is apparent that officers were more closely connected to the everyday business of diocesan government and, therefore, seem to have gained greater authority and bargaining power over the bishop and other high church officials. Moreover, it is plausible to infer that the diocesan officials did not support the ecclesiastical policies of their bishop, nor did they find it necessary to support his nominations for preferments. The discrepancy between Parkhurst's view of his officials as the "eyes of the bishop" and his complaints about their "cunning tricks and fraudulent deceits" presents a complex picture of the relations between the episcopacy and his officials. Diocesan officials established close working relations among themselves which acted as a unifying agency against the bishop. Is friction between prelate and official necessarily indicative of differing ecclesiastical policies and conflicts of interest, or is it more suggestive of the bishop's weak personal presence in the administration of his diocese?

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[225] R. A. Houlbrooke concludes that the "importance for the story lies in its forceful illustration of Parkhurst's gullibility and of the hold which the Rugge-Thimelthorpe group had gained over the administration of the see," *Ibid*, p. ii.

[226] *Ibid*, p. 69.

[227] Parkhurst describes the failure of his officials to support his policies: "they [officers] have not in all partes so trustily behaved themselves as my desire," *Ibid*, p. 116. Likewise, in another letter to visitors from Norfolk and Suffolk he rewards them for supplying "the defaults of my officers," *Ibid*, p. 115. Yet again, he complains of his chancellor having "done [him] great wrong," *Ibid*, p. 216, and therefore, states that "I wash my hands of it, laying the fault in you," *Ibid*, p. 162.

6. Relations with Church Officials

> And whether I [Parkhurst] shall thanke God or not for so painfull an archdeacon (as you say), that lieth all in Godde's handes, who may visitte you for your faltes either with the stone as Mr. Robertes is or with the goute, with that lerned younge man Josias Simlerus[228]

The early Stuart episcopacy inherited a corps of administrators with a potential to produce a "clash of strong personalities"[229] in conflicts of interest. A critical relationship existed between the bishop and his chancellor and, as Collinson has demonstrated, it was desirable for the bishop and his officials to "enjoy confidence of each other"[230] but this proved to be extremely difficult. Still, as Collinson has acknowledged, bishops were in regular contact with their clergy and furthermore, as Fincham has pointed out, bishops were not only on friendly terms with their clergy but tended to support them against lay encroachments.[231]

The relationship between the prelacy and his diocesan officials hinged on their selection and the process of their appointments. Bishops tended to recruit officials from a "loyal team of diocesan officials." However, the extent to which bishops could select proteges to their administration was small, as they had limited circles of contacts among those eligible for administration. How often were bishops inclined to turn down nominees to administrative positions and to what degree were the monarch and influential court patrons able to appoint officials for ecclesiastical administration? Diocesan officials, as overseers of the bishop's policies, were a vital component of the bishop's management. Their administrative presence is important for explaining the ecclesiastical policies of the episcopacy.[232]

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[228] Ralph Houlbrooke (ed.), *The Letter-Book of John Parkhurst*, p. 207.

[229] Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 156.

[230] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 64.

[231] "they [bishops] were intent on defending the clerical estate," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 45, because "bishops were well aware that the system of detection ultimately rested on the integrity of churchwardens, inquisitors and ministers," *Ibid*, p. 133. This refutes Christopher Hill's statement that "Abbot, like Williams, browbeat the lesser clergy and would listen to any country gentleman who had a complaint to make against a minister," Christopher Hill, *The Economic Problems of the Church*, p. 221. This is not to deny that bishops could ill afford to "dispense with allies among the ruling gentry" Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 76, but neither did they neglect to assert their influence and support the clergy over question of religious concern. Bishops needed to maintain authority in the workings of their diocese.

The episcopacy saw ecclesiastical officials as necessary agents within the church hierarchy responsible for aiding the process of an effective administration of diocesan government.[233] Although bishops never denied or challenged the importance or jurisdiction of their diocesan officials, they did challenge their ability to perform their duties by designating their officials as the cause of the failure of the diocesan government.[234] For example, the bishop of Durham stated that his attorney for the ecclesiastical court was causing problems for him and his diocese: "This trouble and stir was plotted from London the last term by Wright…although he is an officer of mine and a tenant to great things is the only stirrer of troubles between me and my neighbours of Duresme."[235] This example, along with the problematic relationship between Thimelthorpe and Parkhurst, illustrates the tenuous relationship that often prevailed between prelate and diocesan officials.

Tension in the daily administration of the diocese was more prevalent, and perhaps more intense, according to the officials' perception of the episcopacy. Accusations of covetousness, greed, family advancements and personal gain were common attacks made by diocesan officials against their bishops. At a proceeding at a session of the high court of commission at Durham in 1627 a prebendary and dean of Durham, Peter Smart, openly attacked his bishop of supporting popery and popish ceremonies, advancing family members and close friends, belonging to an Arminian faction, neglecting his duties as prelate and securing his own financial and social position within society (along with many other imaginable accusations):

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[232] "But episcopal administration and justice were the preserve not so much of the bishops themselves as of their officers," Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 62.

[233] The bishop of Durham related to Cecil the importance of ecclesiastical officials for the good running of the government: "for the absence of the dean of Durham and the Master of Sherbourne House are great maims to the government of this country," *Cal. Sal. MSS 1609-12*, Vol. XXI, p. 73-4.

[234] "Throughout the bishopric of Durham, popery prevails…the chief reason why law is badly administered is the covetousness of the bishop and his bad officers," *SP14/88/94*. Samuel Harsnett critiqued his officials for raising fees for the use of ecclesiastical courts and attempted to rectify the problem: "I heare much complaint of the increase and exaction of Fees, by severall officers in several Courts, much to the scandal of our Ecclesiastical Iurisdiction: For remedy whereof I strictly charge my Register to carrie with him…a table containing severall, ancient, and accustomed Fees for all matters," Samuel Harsnett, *Orders Set Down by the Most Reverend Father in God, Samuel* (1629). This problem of diocesan officials exacting high fees was also addressed by king James I: "And that you [bishops] give charge to all your inferior officers…that they do their indeuors therein, without clayming any fees or laying charges upon the poore citie," James I, *To the Reverend Fathers in God, and our Trustie and Well Beloved, the Bishops Assembled at the Conuocation* (1604).

> He was then counted an heavy-headed lubber, put out of that schoole for a dunce, and a drone....howsoever he was an ignorant and unlearned grammarian, he profited better in divinity: he had learning enough to run through seven preferments, seven bishopricks, containing the onehalf of England, in all which, his principall care and study was to enrich himself, and his kindred, chaplains, creatures, and favorites, which he made non-residents, and totquots, heaping upon them all manner of preferments, benefices and dignities, to the intent they might flaunt it out bravely, and assist him their lord and master couragiously, in setting up altars, images, organs, copes, candlesticks, and all manner of massing furniture.[236]

In 1586, Archbishop Sandys exhibited articles against his dean, Dr. Hutton, regarding his failure to support the archbishop in administering his ecclesiastical policies and implementing them within the diocesan government.[237] Hutton was brought before the privy council where he "repelled the charge of usury with indignation, but admitted the use of indiscreet language and craved pardon."[238] A similar example displays the tension that existed between the Dean and Chapter of Wells and their bishop. The Dean and Chapter established guidelines for the bishop to follow, thereby limiting his prerogative and authority within the administration of the diocese. The Dean and Chapter took it upon themselves to restrict the amount of money offered to the bishop for confirmation of grants.[239] In addition, these officials sought to enforce a reciprocal relationship by stating that "if the bishop shall deny to confirm any grant of the

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[235] *Cal. Sal. MSS 1609-12*, Vol. XXI, p. 194-5.

[236] "The Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham," *Surtees*, Vol. XXXIV, 1858, p. 202. And see Hugh Trevor-Roper "Laudianism and Political Power" in his *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* for the fullest explanation of this conflict.

[237] Sandys accused Hutton of usury, protesting against the archbishop's visitation of a cathedral, refusing to notify the exchequer of recusants within the dioceses, failure to preach and lavish purchases of land among others.

[238] *Athen. Cantab.*, p. 423.

[239] "so that the bishop do receive the like some and no more for his confirmation of grants," *Cal. Wells. MSS*, Vol. XII, 1914, p. 338.

present dean or chapter then…no grant whatsoever of his shall be confirmed by the dean and chapter until he do so."[240] And still another example may be added to the Dean and Chapter's imposition of reciprocal demands upon the bishop. They state that parishioners were not to give their owed tithes to the bishop until the bishop had successfully paid the Dean and Chapter their required subsidies: "that therefore it be ordered and enjoyned that the commynor of his church shall detayne and keep in his handes the quotidians of the said lord busshopp which shall be hereafter due unto him, until he have paid the said tenths and subsidyes unto the deane and chapter.[241] The conditions instigated by the Dean and Chapter demonstrate that the relationship between prelate and officials was not merely based on reciprocity. Ecclesiastical officials tended to possess the bargaining authority in deciding the administrative activity of the diocese. Furthermore, not only were the diocesan officials the apex of the governing power within the bishopric, but they also tended to successfully manipulate the system to their benefit. All of this does not deny the role of the bishop within his diocese but, rather, it illustrates the importance of his administrators in the machinery of diocesan governance and, most importantly, in shaping the role of the bishop.

> The first differences between him [George Abbot] and Dr. Laud, which subsisted as long as they lived, and was the cause of great uneasiness to both[242]

It has been argued in the past that the ecclesiastical policies of the early Stuart episcopacy showed conflicting policies among the prelates. Factions among bishops existed within the Church of England and were an apparent feature in James I's support for a theologically diverse ('moderate') episcopacy. However, the fact of disagreements explicitly expressed among the prelacy in court sermons and theological preferments is by no means indicative of a religious community in conflict. The theological tensions that did exist among the prelacy were not representative of oppositional forces.[243] Factions among bishops do not attest to completely different theological viewpoints among the episcopacy. Instead, they prove that subtle differences existed among similar visions of the Church of England: "This was not a clash of Anglican and Puritan but of two different types of court conformists."[244] Tensions that did exist were the result of James I's own religious policy of attempting to find a *via media* for religious consensus.

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[240] *Ibid.*

[241] It is important to note that diocesan officials did not attempt to usurp the authority of the bishop or deny the bishop of his ecclesiastical duties. This is evident in the Dean and Chapter's remark concerning the quotidians of the bishop that "shall be hereafter due unto him." The Dean and Chapter never deny the bishop's right to accept the quotidians. Rather, the officials saw it as their duty to compel the bishop to carry out his expected duties to completion.

[242] *B. B.*, p. 3.

Factions were established between prelates due to their different theological opinions and ecclesiastical policies. Apart from the factions that were formed within the academic institutions and during the scholastic training of the episcopacy, other disputes among prelates were provoked by their actions as leaders of the church.[245] In 1588 Overton was suspended by archbishop Whitgift for departing from the Convocation without leave. Also, in 1607, Tobias Mathew stated that he had acquired the disgrace of archbishop Bancroft (why however is uncertain): "His Grace is much incensed against me that I have no hope or comfort but that which no man can take from me."[246] Whether these actions were indicative or not of the charges brought forward by other prelates, the fact remains that discrepancies did prevail among the ecclesiastical policies of the episcopacy.[247]

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[243] "The incorporation of a wide range of theological opinion produced much factional and personal rivalry at court," Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, "The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I," in Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church*, p. 32. For example, Thomas Bilson and Robert Abbot quarreled over jurisdiction which turned into a personal rivalry and Hooker and Cotton held similar views against those bishops who completely rejected the established liturgy.

[244] Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic*, p. 172. See Peter Lake's article "Joseph Hall, Robert Skinner and the Rhetoric of Moderation at the Early Stuart Church," in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (eds.), *The English Sermon Revisited: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (2000). "Each [bishop] offered a different vision of the English Church of England," Fincham and Lake, "The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I," p. 32. This argument refutes whig interpretations of Laud attempting to revert back to a pre-reformation church. Laud, like the other early Stuart bishops, wanted to find an effective and manageable religious consensus within the established Church of England. It is also worth noting that "the exigencies of the moment dictated the relative importance that James attached to each of these factors at any one time," kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 24.

[245] See Chapter II. Factions that were formed between colleges during the academic training of the prelacy tended to endure throughout the duration of a prelate's office.

[246] *Cal. Sal. MSS 1607*, Vol. XIX, p. 205.

[247] The court sermon represented another opportunity for prelates to display their theological preference and openly attack the views of other prelates. Lori Anne Ferrell points out the importance of the court sermon by suggesting that the language of the episcopacy is just as important as the theology of the episcopacy. Their sermons were

7. "We Love Quietness and Hate Contention"

The social relations and actions between ecclesiastical officials provides evidence for the practical operations of diocesan government at both a national and local level. Social networking and patronage systems, combined with knowledge of corporate management, represented the basic framework of ecclesiastical administration. When applied to specific dioceses, this framework was conditioned by local variations including the demographics of the bishop, his officials and the parishioners. The evidence suggests that despite quarreling between the bishop and his officials, and between one official and another, the operation of diocesan business continued to function efficiently without any serious contention or disruption to the routine of daily administration.[248]

Parkhurst continually attributes the problems within his diocese to the incompetence of his officials. However, he blames his officials for their disregard for his instruction and for the financial disrepute of the diocese rather than for their incompetent of executing their required duties. Parkhurst's

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saturated with the bishop's perception of the Church of England and with his own position within that structure. The fact that sermons at court provided an opportunity for bishops to express their diverse interpretations of their position as leading spiritual governors attests to the unity and flexibility of the Church of England. Religious tensions "are best understood as part of this long-running conflict between two models of the church, rather than the sudden emergence of a dominant 'Arminian' faction," Darren Oldridge, *Religion and Society in Early Stuart England* (1998), p. 8. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter Lake advise to be cautious of the term 'moderation' before claiming to understand the theological opinion and political position of the episcopacy: "moderation was an ideologically charged category and one, moreover, subject to almost incessant polemical construction and reconstruction," Peter Lake, "Joseph Hall, Robert Skinner and the Rhetoric of Moderation at the Early Stuart Court," p. 185. These sermons were used to manipulate their audiences, to promote royal supremacy and, most importantly, to advise or criticize the monarch: "Court preachers cited the tradition of Constantine to present the king as a leader of new Christendom united by broad doctrinal uniformity," Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic*, p. 17; "the court sermon still provided one of the few possible opportunites for delivering a petition or grievance directly to the king's person," Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 37. Sermons such as those preached at court were organized to some degree and influenced by the "factional wishes of prominent courtiers, ecclesiastics and the monarch," *Ibid*, p. 61. Court sermons offered the bishops the opportunity to display their academic knowledge and to challenge other prelates on the theological matters *within*, not *about*, the structure of the Church of England.

[248] "Despite the internal troubles which afflicted the administration of the archdeaconry, it emerged from Lowth's supervision fully developed and equipped for its task," Ronald Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1642*, p. 133. *The Calendars of Administration in the Consistory Court of Lincoln 1540-1659*, Foster (ed.), Index Library (London, 1921) provides a list of all the cases heard before the court but does not state the purpose of each case, and more importantly, whether the officials adhered to the bishop's ecclesiastical policies.

situation was probably unique among the Elizabethan episcopacy. His letter-book reflects a period in Elizabethan episcopal administration which was still largely focused upon ensuring the allegiance of its ministry and parishioners to the established church. Most of the disputes between Parkhurst and his officials concern the conformity of the parish and ministry and the dissolution of prophesying within the diocese.[249] Moreover, Parkhurst inherited a less profitable diocese and found himself struggling for financial security. Finally, Parkhurst was the exception of the Elizabethan bishops in that he was less knowledgeable in ecclesiastical and civil law than his successors and, therefore, relied more heavily upon civil lawyers for legal and judicial advice.[250]

The fractious relationship that existed between Parkhurst and his officials was primarily confined to superficial concerns that were not related to diocesan governance. Disputes were most often the result of Parkhurst's frustration with his financial difficulties, his concern for conformity and the dissolution of recusants, and the character of his officials.[251] These disputes were rarely concerned with the practical operations of diocesan administration or the structure and performance of ecclesiastical courts. For example, Parkhurst had to advise two of his archdeacons on several occasions to put an end to their rivalry and constant bickering. These disputes were not concerned with each other's administrative abilities or responsibilities but, rather, with their character and personal disposition. Mr. Roberts accused Dr. Gardiner of being overly ambitious in obtaining his preferment within the diocese: "But, Mr. Gardyner, ambition is so pestilent a serpent that wheare it infecteth the harte there is neither freindship regarded neither amitie."[252] Likewise, officials accused Parkhurst of not fulfilling his episcopal duties because of the prominence of nonconformity within the diocese:

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[249] "And if any of the said clergie shall eyther of necligence or wilfull frowardnes shew them selfes contrarie and disobeying unto you in the premyssies [of prophesying], then do I will and require you to signifye the said disobedient persons unto my comyssarye," *Letter-Book of John Parkhurst*, p. 165. Recusancy was another problem within the diocese and much of Parkhurst's attention was directed towards instructing officials to ensure conformity: "a gent. of these parts being indighted of poperye and other wies in danger of the Queen her Majestie's lawes," *Ibid*, p. 222; "Lady Huddlestone useth many shiftes to absent her self from coming to church...[I] desire yow to take the paines eyther to travell to Harling Hall (wher she ys now) eyther else to cause her by your letters to come before yow, wher she may lay in good bond with suerties for her apparance before my said Lord of Elie or other the high commissioners," *Ibid*, p. 227.

[250] "I am perswaded by summe learned both in the common and civill lawes, that this writte (the nature wherof you knowe better than I) may be satisfied to the benifite of the woman, and that certificate may be made according to the ecclesiastical lawes, *partes predictas legittimo matrimonio fuisse copulatas*, my chancellor perswading me other wise," *Ibid*, p. 122.

[251] Parkhurst thanks the dean of Canterbury and Parker's secretary for their "paynefull diligence taken aboute the reformatcion of [his] dioces, wherin, as you have supplied the defaltes of myne officers (upon whome I may justlye laye the burden of soch thinges as are amysse)," *Ibid*, p. 115, and further concerning the reformation of his diocese, "I [Parkhurst] washe my handes of it, laing the falt in you [his chancellor], to whome I referre this and such like causes in myne absence," *Ibid*, p. 162.

> It standes your lordship in hand to loke about, the x^th^ parte of these masses weare said in your dioces (if ther weare so many); good coniectures saith so, and I pray God non of your officers be culpable in consenting to them. The daies be dangerous, the devill is busye to lull men aslepe in securitie and to be necligent in ther offices, that requier viligant pastors, to such tyme as he may by pollicye plant ignorance and idolatrye to be commended with crueltie.[253]

This statement by George Gardiner, an archdeacon of Norwich, is indicative of his critique of the moral character of the bishop and his officials, not to mention his frustration with losing favour with Parkhurst and other archdeacons. Gardiner does not question the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop nor does he suggest that the officials were inept in executing their duties. Rather, his rhetoric is immersed in the moral qualities of good and evil and his concern is ultimately with the malevolent and vindictive (or perhaps ambitious) character of the officials. The issue of nonconformity was a continuous problem for the Church of England, and its presence was due not to the failure of one member of the church but rather with the entire body of ecclesiastical governors.

Most officials when performing their administrative duties relied upon established systems of social networks and patronage. This 'structure of assistance' between diocesan officials is indicative of the continuous and potentially efficient machinery of governance at all levels of ecclesiastical administration. It was customary for an officer to seek the advice of other officials in both administrative and judicial cases and for a diocesan official to seek the advice of the bishop in conjunction with, or separate from, his fellow ecclesiastics. John Young, dean of Winchester, first sought the council of his chapter and then desired instruction and guidance from his bishop: "To wyrte to my *L[ord]*; but first to see what advyse the companie will give concerning some order to be taken for the poure, and for removing the sermons to the bodie of the church. I would be glad to have his *L[ordship's]* advyce and directions in all mutations."[254] It was more common for an official to work in conjunction with and with the support of his colleagues and the bishop rather than contrary to their demands. Officials understood that working in opposition to a community of officials severely limited their abilities and resources to perform his duties efficiently within the structure of diocesan governance. However, when the bishop was not available to offer assistance or respond to the queries of an official, the official would seek the advice of a third party within his established social networks that could offer him advice and direction. Dr. William James, dean of Durham, consulted the Secretary of State, in the absence of the bishop, for advice on the proper judicial procedure and sentencing of three recusants with peculiar cases.[255] Likewise, the bishop relied upon his own patronage system for assistance, for advice, and for personal or financial support in ecclesiastical and secular business.[256] It is through these 'structures of assistance' that diocesan administration, at a broad level of national interest and at a regional level of local concern, was able to function in relative harmony, efficiency and consistency.

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[252] *Ibid*, p. 204.
[253] *Ibid*, p. 238.

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[254] John Young, *The Diary of John Young: Dean of Winchester 1616 to the Commonwealth*, F. R. Goodman (ed.), (London, 1928), p. 57. Likewise, archbishop Grindal responded to the dean and chapter of York in 1582 thanking them for his trust in seeking his advice when he thought it to be necessary: "I doe understande…that you are contented to referre the said controversie or difference to my order, and in suche sort as the matter shall goe no furder," "The Correspondence of Dr. Mathew Hutton, Archbishop of York," *Surtees Society*, volume, p. 67. Most diocesan officials were ready and willing to serve their bishop according to his direction and instruction: "I am readie, to further your Lordship's desire, if it wold please you, at the next terme to appoinct some one of yours to bringe me the coppye of a like grante together," Ralph Houlbrooke, *The Letter-Book of Parkhurst*, p. 134.

[255] "As the Bishop of Durham is occupied in Her Majesty's service, and we cannot confer with him, thinking this is a matter we ought not to conceal from Council, we desire to know what course to pursue, with regard to Trollop and others," *SP 14/258/25.* James I wrote to the dean and chapter of Wells notifying them of the chancellor's non-residence as he was in the service of the king for some time: "Whereas John Young, D. D., chancellor and one of your canons of the cathedral church of Welles, by reason of his attendaunce on us and employment in our service, cannot reside amongst you and performe such ordinarie dewtyes as his place may require; these are to certifie yow that notwithstanding his non-residence, it is our speciall pleasour that henceforth he enjoy all comodityes, dividentes and quotidianes any way belonging to his place," *Cal. Wells. MSS*, p. 369. It was not uncommon for diocesan officials to reside at court or at parliament for a period of time. However, this did not disrupt the daily routine of diocesan admninistration.

[256] In 1599, Bancroft wrote to Sir John Stanhope, treasurer of the chamber, requesting his assistance in regaining the favour of the queen: "For the mitigation thereof, next my prayers and most faithful service to her, I must rely upon the favour of my good friends at court," *SP 14/268/55* Several bishops, usually those of northern sees, would request financial support from lay suitors and political patrons: "But of your good lordship's inclination to further God's cause no man doubts; and seeing many good men have felt

The episcopacy and diocesan officials were well acquainted with the knowledge of the operations of diocesan administration. They were not only familiar with ecclesiastical and secular offices and respective duties, they were also aware of the methods of manipulating the structure of governance for their own benefit and for the benefit of their corporate community. Ecclesiastical officials were concerned with the proper management of administration and exploited every facet of knowledge and support that was available to them. In a letter to the Earl of Huntingdon, Dean Hutton, a future archbishop of York, expressed his concern with non-residency and its effect on the diocese and on the solidarity and uniformity of ecclesiastical authority. Dean Hutton explained that the problem of non-residency and pluralities was that first "it is contrarie to our statutes, whereunto we are all sworne, and shall be taken out of the livinge of the residencieanies...and because it doth open a window, which (if it be not speedelie shutt) is like utterlie to overthrow the state of our church."[257] This illustrates his interest in diocesan administration, the proper management of the personnel and parishioners under the care of the church and his active involvement in the spiritual and political governance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

As employees of the crown, bishops and their officials were dedicated to the proper and efficient management of diocesan administration and judicial proceedings. On the one hand they were committed to the spiritual needs of the parishioners and in fact all Anglicans, and (on the other hand) to the promotion of episcopal policy and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Bishops were aware that their position within the Church of England required multiple skills and capabilities. They were not only spiritual leaders of the church, promoters of monarchical and episcopal policy and political agents, they were also highly skilled administrators who were responsible for a corpus of personnel and the management of a large

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and rejoiced of it, I am bolder to crave it....the Lord long preserve your lordship to the comfort of his afflicted church, and grant, that in this old age of the world we may serve the lord of hosts in singleness of heart, and root out all stumbling blocks in religion," "The Works of James Pilkington, B. D., Lord Bishop of Durham," *Parker*, Vol. 35, pp. 660-2.

[257] "The Correspondence of Dr. Mathew Hutton," p. 63. Dean Hutton reinforced this argument in a subsequent letter to Sir Francis Walsingham regarding pluralities: "it is contrarie to our statutes, and hurtfull to the state of the churche and pore men that be now residenciaries," *Ibid*, p. 65.

and complex structure of governance. The episcopacy was concerned with securing and promoting faith to the established religion, the crown and to episcopal policy. Although one component of their office required them to be active in national politics and maintain a presence as spiritual leaders of the Church of England, bishops also took an active interest in the local concerns and administration of their dioceses. In his essay *To the Parson, Vicar or Curate, of and to Everie of Them*, Bishop Francis Godwin stresses his concern with the proper order of operations within the ministry and parish politics. He instructs all local officials to address their concerns, queries and state of local affairs to either himself or his chancellor and to no other official.[258] Likewise, William James, the dean of Durham, constantly refers to the dedication of the bishop of Durham to the state of affairs in his diocese: "Much pains and care have been taken buy the Bishop and other Commissioners, but by the lurking and flying of some, and the wilfulness of others, that which is desired cannot be effected."[259] He attests to the bishop's continual attempts to correct all nonconformities, recusancy, non-residency and other concerns that threaten to disrupt the most efficient means of governance within the diocese and that threaten to hinder the spiritual well-being of the parishioners and officials under his care.

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[258] Francis Godwin addresses his local officials to not take any action that requires episcopal sanction "without…the hand of seale of mee or Doctor Trevor my chancellor and none other. If you shall hereafter offend in the premises, you are to be suspended ab officio & beneficio pertriennium; wherein I abbuse you to hope for no favour," Francis Godwin, *To the Parson, Vicar and Curate of, and to Everie of Them* (1603), p. 2-3. Rosemary O'Day discusses Bentham's intimate involvement in church government and his reliance on an established system of social networks for efficient management of church business. As early as the 1560s and 1570s, bishops and their officials managed social groups, relations, networks and patronage system in diocesan administration: "There is much evidence that Bentham involved himself intimately in the administration of ecclesiastical justice within his diocese – hearing many lay and clerical cases in person on a regular basis and seeking to expedite justice in the consistory. He involved himself in both correction and instance cases. Conscientious as he strove to be in these matters of discipline, it was clear that a successful job could not be done by one man, especially one who was increasingly preoccupied with financial worries and personal litigation. Allowing for this and for the unwieldy nature of the diocese, some division of responsibility was evidently necessary," Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642*, p. 39.

[259] *SP 14/258/55*. In a subsequent letter to secretary Cecil, dean James attests to the bishop's dedication to correct all disruptions to the spiritual security of those within his diocese: "Since I came, the Bishop has thrice sate in the high commission," *Ibid*, p. 348. In 1615, the archbishop of Canterbury wrote to William Trumbull of his wish to return to his duties in Canterbury and examine his diocese: "I have not been in Kent since my coming to the Archbishopricke, which maketh mee the more desirous to go thither, partly

Disputes and episodes of quarreling between officials failed to hinder their dedication to diocesan administration. These disputes were superficial in that they rarely touched upon the practical operation and function of offices and the responsibilities and actions of the officials. Most disputes and arguments were concerned with finances and the moral character of the officials.[260] Ecclesiastical officials, whether at the top of the church hierarchy such as bishop, chancellor or archdeacon, or at the bottom, such as vicar, curate or churchwarden, all expressed an interest and active involvement in all levels of diocesan administration. Moreover, these officers of the church and state were active participants in the daily routine of corporate operations. This mutual participation worked to establish a commonality between ecclesiastical officials and this commonality is what provided the foundation for a cohesive and accommodating body of governors. Bishops and officials, both as communities of governors and administrators, were dedicated employees of the crown who were not simply religious and authoritarian figures in national, regional and local society. Bishops, as a community of governors, and their officials, as a community of administrators, performed their duties in close relation to one another. They perceived themselves as an adhesive group of administrators with mutual interests working to maintain a complex yet flexible system of

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to see the country and party to performe such duties as do concerne my place," *Cal. Down. MMS*, Vol. 5, p. 281.

[260] Concerning finances, archbishop Parker wrote to archbishop Grindal explaining the unwillingness of his dean to pay to him required fees: "Where I was, partly to answer the dean of Norwich and his chapter upon a rotten composition, wherein yet their predecessors did confess that sedibus vacantibus I have all the jurisdiction which the bishop hath sede plena, and yet they deny it to me. By this old composition they should claim no more but to have one of three de sui gremio, only in time of visitation and examining of the comptes found in the same," "The Correspondence of Mathew Parker, D. D.," *Parker* (1868), p. 476. Archbishop Whitgift, in a letter to dean Hutton, stated his concern for the rivalry between the dean and archbishop Sandys. Whitgift stressed his desire for a peaceful compromise between them for the sake of the maintaining peace and quietness within the church: "I pray you consider, for the redeeming of peace and quietnesse, and the avoiding of publick offense, whether it were not better for you and the rest to yeeld unto him in one or both his patents," "The Correspondence of Dr. Mathew Hutton," p. 73. Whitgift's concern for peaceful coexistence between these members of the Church of England illustrates his, and other bishops', desire to ensure a harmonious working relationships between ecclesiastical officials and by doing this he alludes to the accommodating structure of church governance: "Many thinges are to be done and suffered for peace sake....for myne owne parte, I wish you bothe so well, that, to make you frendes and to reconcile you together, I would bee content," *Ibid.*

governance at every level within the established Church of England.[261] By drawing upon established social networks and patronage systems these officials contributed to the successful and efficient cure of the souls and spiritual needs of the faithful. However, what historians have failed to acknowledge and understand is that intricate relations existed between diocesan officials and that these relations provided the impetus for efficient diocesan management. In fact, the administrative capabilities and skills of this community of ecclesiastical officials represented the apex of every-day events and 'politicking' within the diocese.

It is astonishing that while historians strove to answer queries relating to the theological character of the prelacy, ideological and religious underpinnings of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the connection between episcopal authority and the events of the 1640s, the entire structure of diocesan administration remained buried and forgotten beneath these, according to what previous historians believed were, more significant concerns. Ecclesiastical officials, as a community, did successfully serve both the spiritual and administrative needs and interests of the parish, diocese and state. These practical operations of diocesan administration have only begun to be explored and further examination of the roles and relations of the bishop and diocesan officials is needed in order to understand the nuances, politics and social networking in every-day life in early modern English society.

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[261] Dean Hutton illustrated this understanding of community among church officials by arguing that an offense unto him is an offence unto the church: "And my humble suit, in myne owne name and in the name of the Churche," "The Correspondence of Dr. Mathew Hutton," p. 64. Bishop Parkhurst also expressed this sense of community among the episcopacy: "I can not before I have bynne at London yelde to the same, unlesse I wold wilfullye thrust my selfe into the danger and displeasure of all the bisshoppes, the justices

Chapter V The Visitation

1. Sermons as Sources

For a thorough examination of the roles and ecclesiastical policies of early Stuart bishops, Fincham suggested that an historian should examine personal correspondences, theological writings, records of diocesan administration, dedicatory epistles and episcopal biographies for a complete and thorough inquiry.[262] Historians have examined the court sermons of the Tudor and Stuart episcopacy.[263] Rather than examining other written records such as diocesan governance, epistolary dedications and letters, McCullough confined his use of sources to printed court sermons. These court sermons represent only a limited resource, not to mention one controlled and influenced by royal presence and guidance, court politics, factions and a minority of the elite population. However, if the ecclesiastical policies and role of the bishop in the administration of his diocese are to be understood, it will be valuable to examine sermons preached by prelates and their officials during their visitation of their bishoprics.

2. Sermons Preached by Officials at the Visitation

Sermons were an essential component of the visitorial process as they were used to communicate the purpose of the visitation from the pulpit to the parishioners and even to church officials. They were used to list the duties that church officials were expected to perform and to remind them, along with the bishop, of their purpose for undertaking an inspection of the parishes: "[The purpose being] to put you in mind of your duties, or to redress what is amiss, but if you shall consider that there is an holy duty to be performed by the bishop in his triennial visitation…then will this text be apt and fit for our meeting."[264] Finally, the sermon preached at the visitation was a vehicle for expressing the

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of assice and some other of higher authoritie," Ralph Houlbrooke, *The Letter-Book of John Parkhurst*, p. 157.

[262] "Consecration sermons, Episcopal biographies, and epistolary dedications attest to the widespread dissemination of the pastoral image in early Stuart England," Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 10.

[263] "The institutional apparatus and personnel responsible for the ministry of the word at court have been completely neglected," McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 1.

[264] Edward Boughen, *A Sermon of Confirmation* (1619), sig. B.

importance of church hierarchy while assuring the parishioners of the officials' active involvement in the reformation of abuses within the church.[265]

Support for and reaffirmation of church hierarchy and social status were dominant themes within these sermons. Visitation articles and the associated sermons were designed to instruct parishioners "to give ear, to be persuaded unto, and to obey."[266] These pedagogical sermons were also used to instruct ecclesiastical officials to observe their position and obey the orders presented in the articles.[267] Darren Oldridge has attempted to illustrate that these sermons, in particular Francis Holyoake's *Sermon of Obedience* (1610), were concerned with the church as "pre-eminently a physical institution rather than a community of believers."[268] For these ecclesiastical officials, the sermons preached at episcopal visitations reinforced the social hierarchy and the responsibilities expected of the prelate and his officials and confirmed church hierarchy with the bishop as its leading spiritual governor.

Establishing, reinforcing and defending the social order and "the proper and peculiar office of the bishop," and that of his diocesan officials, was not without difficulties. These sermons were not only pedagogical devices aimed at the ecclesiastical hierarchy and for public obedience but were also indicative of problems within the church and provide evidence of the difficult relations that existed among church officials. In his sermon *Concerning the Imposition of Hands*, Richard Milbourne claimed that "so long as men continue faithfully in their callings,"[269] church hierarchy and the role of the prelate would be defended by God's grace and supported by the congregation. However, his insistence that all church officials were equally responsible for administration and the dire consequences of misgovernment of the diocese illustrates his concern about the relations between prelate and official.[270] Moreover, there is a tendency in this literature to acknowledge (but disregard) the abuses within the church in favour of supporting the established social order.[271] Holyoake's statement of the abuses of and in the church goes one step further as he openly attacks the negligence of the bishop and his officials in performing their required duties.[272] Sermons preached at visitations were used to communicate the orders of the prelate to his officials and parishioners and to reinforce the ideal social order within the church.

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[265] According to Francis Holyoake, the purpose of the visitation is "for reformation of such things [public disorders and disobedience] as are amiss," *Sermon of Obedience, Especially unto Authoritie Ecclesiasticall*, (1610), pp. 30-1.

[266] *Ibid*, p. 2. Holyoake explains the social hierarchy by citing examples from the physical world, the human body and from philosophy.

[267] Parishioners and officials must "honour and obey your superiors," *Ibid*, p. 1.

[268] *Religion and Society in Early Stuart England*, p. 24. The early modern Church, including the parishioners and church officials, represents a community of believers that was concerned about religious expression and obedience to church policy. Holyoake was concerned about the way in which this community of believers perceived and adhered to church hierarchy.

[269] Richard Milbourne, *Concerning the Imposition of Hands*, [no pag].

3. Visitation Articles and Ecclesiastical Policy

The value of visitation articles has often been underestimated and they are still in need of further examination.[273] Kenneth Fincham recently published two volumes of early Stuart visitation articles and injunctions which allow further assessment of this evidence. Fincham has drawn attention to the neglect of these sources as their "importance is often obscure, their origins and influence problematic."[274] However, this should not deter historians from examining them as they provide, as I shall prove, essential information not only of the structure and theological underpinning of the church but also of the ecclesiastical policies of the prelates and their relations with their officials.[275]

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[270] "yet is not this direction so strictly restrained unto Timothy, but that in sundrie respects, it may and ought to be extended by a rule of necessary consequence to all his assistants," *Ibid.*

[271] Edward Boughen acknowledged the problems within diocesan administration and church hierarchy, but claimed that hierarchy was founded on ancient constitution and therefore should be observed and obeyed: "for there is no reason why ancient, ecclesiastical, apostolical constitutions should utterly be abolished for some abuses crept in," *A Sermon of Confirmation*, p. 57. Holyoake agrees, stating that despite problems with men in the service of the church "it is much better to obey doubtingly, then to disobey doubtingly," *Sermon of Obedience*, p. 24.

[272] "yet therin the slackness of some of the governors of our church cannot be excused for there are many that if they were urged and joined, have sufficiently both of learning and utterance, but their carelessness and idleness is such that unless they be compelled they will take no pains," Holyoake, *A Sermon of Obedience*, p. 12.

[273] "until now there has been no systematic examination of the structure and contents of articles, nor the relationship between sets issued by different archbishops, bishops or archdeacons," Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, Vol. I (London, 1994), [no pag].

[274] *Ibid*, p. xxv.

[275] "Ecclesiastical society was held together by Episcopal and archdiaconal visitations," *Religion of Protestants*, p. 122. Frere and Kennedy have limited their use of the visitation articles for understanding the pastoral, administrative and judicial functions of the episcopacy and other members of the church hierarchy. They have not examined the social relations between prelate and officials. See Walter H. Frere (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* (London, 1910), pp. 27-32.

A bishop's theological beliefs, character and ambition may be deciphered through his actions and sermons at a visitation. The machinery of the visitation and its uniformity illuminates the bishop's ecclesiastical policies and his degree of interest in the visitation helps to define his role in the Church of England.[276] The questions of the visitation may provide further evidence as to the extent to which episcopal policies were reaching the lower levels of society, of the relationship between the bishop and his officers, the types of reforms implemented by the bishop and his officers and of the extent to which these reforms were successful. Is a bishop's absence from the visitation[277] a signal of his neglect of spiritual duties or a signal of his commitment to secular responsibilities to the crown? Webster has demonstrated that there was a qualitative, rather than quantitative, alteration to the visitation between Laud and his forerunners. Laud, in fact, "made very few changes to the machinery of the discipline...he did however substantially improve the detection structures in the diocese."[278] Although Fincham suggests that most bishops adhered to their pastoral duties, including attending the visitation in person and operating accordingly to the needs of his flock, he concludes that the success of a bishop's reforms ultimately rested with his officials.[279] Therefore, the relationship

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Fincham has already pointed out, from an examination of the Jacobean visitation articles, that Howson, Montague and Harsnett were all advocates of decorous public worship and opponents of Calvinist piety. Moreover, he has also argued that Davenant was not an ardent ceremonialist; a statement that contradicts much of the historiography on the theological view of this prelate.

[276] Bishops were expected to perform diocesan visitations every three years, with the exception of York (every four years), and Norwich (every seven). Likewise, archdeacons, deans and prebends were also expected to perform annual visitations of the parishes under their jurisdiction.

[277] Montague and Neile traveled with the king to Scotland and therefore delegated their visitation to their officials. Andrewes was the most persistent absentee as he was interested in scholarly achievement and court favour. Likewise, Bancroft and Williams were also not regular visitors to their sees.

[278] Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*, p. 202. In the diocese of London, Laud had asked a nonconformist minister, Rogers, to subscribe and when he failed to do so Laud suspended his license to preach. Whereas before, in a visitation by bishop Ravis, Rogers was not suspended for his nonconformity and nine days after that visitation he "returned to the Dedham Pulpit," *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 191.

[279] Fincham has claimed that the "visitation [was the] linchpin of Episcopal government," and in doing so he suggests that the answers to many questions reside in an examination of the visitation. However, his chapter on visitations comprises a small component of his examination, results in few conclusions, produces many unanswerable questions and tends to refute his thesis of the prelate as pastor. The problem arises when one takes into account the problem of absenteeism and the fact that bishops only had to reside in their diocese for some time. Was the bishop willing to take an initiative to

between the bishop and his diocesan officials and the extent to which these ecclesiastical officers carried out episcopal policies provides evidence of the programs and reforms of early Stuart bishops. Visitation articles were not merely inquisitorial documents but rather provide crucial evidence of the bishop's churchmanship, his theological preferences, his understanding and commitment to the administration of his diocese and his relations with his archdeacons. For these reasons, the visitation articles must be scrutinized and interpreted for the evidence that up to this point has been neglected.

No detailed study exists of the late Elizabethan visitation articles, and only recently has there been attention to the early Stuart ones. Therefore I have chosen to conduct a pilot survey of two geographically distinct dioceses, Lincoln and Salisbury.[280] I aim to illustrate the importance of these articles for any survey of the ecclesiastical policies of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean episcopacy and their relations with other diocesan officials. For the diocese of Lincoln, the visitation articles of the churchwardens in 1585, Wickham's 1588 articles, Chaderton's 1598 and 1607 articles and Montaigne's 1618 articles illustrate the ecclesiastical policies, theological preferences, administrative concerns and the 'shifting interests' among the prelates.

A shift of interest of ecclesiastical policy may be observed between Wickham's articles, the two articles of Chaderton and those of Montaigne. As the first section of Wickham's articles deals with the ministry it could be thought that he was concerned with the ministry and the content of their sermons.

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pursue matters beyond the examination of the chancellor and the operation of the diocesan government?

[280] Fincham has stated that "nearly seventy years ago Frere and Kennedy completed their indispensable volumes and injunctions of the reformed Church of England between 1536 and 1603," Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, p. xiii. However, Frere and Kennedy only produced a three volume study of the Elizabethan visitation articles beginning in 1536 and ending in 1575. Although they stated their concern for the late Elizabethan articles to be examined they did not published any articles between 1575 and 1603: "It is hoped that future volumes will carry on the series to later times, and contain supplemental documents which will probably emerge as soon as these volumes are at last set forth in print," Walter Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, pp. v-vi. W. P. M. Kennedy has continued this task by producing a three volume compilation of the late Elizabethan visitation articles. However, a detailed examination of these articles on their own merit and in connection with the early Stuart ones is needed for a more comprehensive study of the bishops, their policies and diocesan administration between the 1580s and the 1620s. See W. P. M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, 3 vols. (London, 1924).

However, there is no mention of the desired educational levels of the ministry, or the precedents that he wished to establish regarding the content of their sermons. Wickham also discussed at great length the moral conduct of the parishioners and the duties required of diocesan officials.[281] He is concerned that diocesan officials, in particular the churchwardens, were prone to hide crimes.[282] This concern was an early indication of the problems between the prelate and his ecclesiastical officials. These three sections, concerning the ministry, the moral conduct of the parishioners and the duties required of the diocesan officials are the dominant areas of enquiry and critique for Wickham.

Chaderton's articles of 1598 display many similar themes and tendencies. He too does not mention the education of the ministry and emphasizes at great length the superstitious and moral character of the parishioners and officials. However, when we compare Chaderton's articles of 1598 and his later articles of 1607, we see that his style of churchmanship and theological opinions had changed. In 1607 Chaderton added two sections concerning the education of the ministry, stating "whether doth your minister, or preacher, being at the least a master of artes, or bachelor of lawe, usually weare his gowne with a standing coller and sleeves straight at the hand."[283] These references to the style and presentation of the minister's clothing reflect his strict enforcement of the cap and surplice. Chaderton also added sections discussing the importance of ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy and advocated support for royal supremacy.[284] His increased support for royal supremacy and social hierarchy may show that bishops had difficulty ensuring that their officials implemented their ecclesiastical policies. Increasing the importance and presence of monarchical and episcopal authority within his articles would help to ensure the official's acceptance of the position of the bishop and his policies. Chaderton's 1607 articles reflect his concern with the duties of church officials and his insistence on checking upon the administration of ecclesiastical government in his diocese.[285] Moreover, he added a section that required ecclesiastical officials to report any accusations made by the parishioners regarding the role and duties of the bishop.[286] Chaderton enhanced the ecclesiastical hierarchy and role of the bishop by adding a section dealing with ecclesiastical courts and the need for a special license from the bishop for punishing offenses. Finally, Chaderton's 1607 articles dropped earlier sections on perambulation and rebellious and popish books while his 1598 articles had emphasized the problems with pluralities, non-residence and recusants. His 1598 articles were dominated by issues of moral character of the parishioners and their attendance at service and the proper functioning of administrative duties of his officials whereas his 1607 articles focused on the working relations between all levels of ecclesiastical governance, the promotion of royal and ecclesiastical hierarchy and the rightful authority of leading spiritual and secular figures. There is also more emphasis upon the duties required of all church officials and their acknowledgment of the bishop as their guide to ecclesiastical policies and theological preference.

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[281] "Whether any in your parish be knowne or suspected to bee any whitcraft or sorcerie, charme inchauntment or unlawfull invocation, and namely Mydwives at the Labour of women, or any who do take upon them to tell Destinies, or to guyde men to things lost," Wickham, *Visitation Articles*, Section 53, sig. B3^v.

[282] "Whether have any Churchwardens or Swornemen since the last visitation, or at that time, concealed any disorder or crime done in your parish, or not presented the same to be reformed?" Wickham, *Visitation Articles*, Section 38, sig. B2.

[283] See sections 40 and 41 of Chaderton's *Visitation Articles*, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions for the Early Stuart Church*, p. 75. Section 24 also discusses the graduate level required of the ministry. Chaderton also added three sections relating to schoolmasters: to observe the grammar set forth by Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth; office of usher under the schoolmaster and whether or not they said anything against the monarch's supremacy or articles of religion.

[284] Chaderton added section 6:1 reaffirming the legality and supremacy of both monarch and bishop: "Whether hath any in your parish spoken against, or any way impugned the kings maiestie supremacie in causes ecclesiasticall, the truth and doctrine of the Church of England, the form of Gods worship contained in the booke of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments?" *Ibid*. He also reinforces monarchical authority, and therefore, his authority as leading spiritual governor: "Whether doth your minister in his

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semrons foure times in the yeare at the least, teach and declare the kings maiesties power within his realmes to be the highest power under God, to whom all within the same owe most loyalitie and obedience, and that all forraine power is iustly taken away?" *Ibid.*

[285] "Whether hath your minister admitted to the communion any church-warden or side-man, who hath wittingly and willingly neglected, contrary to his oath, to present any publique office or scandall," *Ibid*, Section 12. Contrary to Fincham's conclusion that most archdeacon visitations leave out inquiries into the conduct of church court officials, the churchwarden's visitation of 1585 is directed towards the proper duties required of the churchwardens by advocating strict monthly reports and suggests, contrary to Chaderton, that churchwardens should perform a visitation every month.

[286] "Whether there by any person or persons knowne or vehemently suspected to have written, printed, or by any means published, and dispersed, or otherwise to have, or to have had in his or their use, or keeping, any of those slaunderous, or scismaticall, and seditious libels, or other bookes, that impeach the booke of common praier, or the religion, and ecclesiastical government…or any ecclesiastical person, or governor within the same," *Ibid*, Section, 6:2.

Montaigne's visitation articles of 1618 further reinforced royal supremacy and ecclesiastical hierarchy.[287] He also added a section concerning temporal jurisdiction and the responsibilities of the Justices of the Peace. This addition indicated a growing tension between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities within the diocese. Montaigne attempted to establish the difference between ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdiction and claimed that offenses that were committed under church authority should be tried under ecclesiastical law.[288] A comparison of the visitation articles issued by Wickham, Chaderton and Montaigne illustrates the differing ecclesiastical policies of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart episcopacy and the differing areas each prelate focused his attention upon regarding the administrative machinery of governance.

The visitation articles of bishop Coldwell, Cotton, Fotherby, Davenant and Townson, along with the visitation of the archdeacon of Berkshire, illustrate diverse ecclesiastical policies and areas of concern. Davenant's visitation articles in 1622 and Townson's in 1620 are almost exactly identical. Fincham has stated that some prelates, most notably in London, retained the same, or nearly identical, articles that their predecessors had established.[289] Davenant's re-use of his predecessor's articles would suggest that he approved of Townson's theological opinions and administrative capabilities.

Bishop Cotton's articles of 1599 give insight into his own perception of his role as spiritual governor and his relations with his officials. Cotton, like Chaderton of Lincoln, demonstrates concern about the ability of his officials to administer their duties and about their willingness to accept the leadership and policies of the prelate. Although Cotton describes them as 'honest and sufficient men,' he also requests the ministry to report any crimes or just cause why the churchwardens should be presented to the bishop or other higher authority within the church.[290] This wary attitude may also be seen in the visitation articles of the archdeacon of Berkshire of 1615. The archdeacon, while holding a similar view of common prayer, service and other religious rituals, declared his own suspicion of the clergy's acceptance of the authority of churchwardens and higher officials.[291] This suspicion of the ordinary clergy, by either bishop or churchwarden, may not be the result of an ineffective diocesan government but indicative rather of their need to enforce the social stratification of their respective positions. What is clear is that some level of communication between the prelate and his officials was obstructed and that tensions regarding the administrative needs of the diocese remained a constant, and consistent, element in diocesan government.

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[287] "Whether the fift of August and the fifth of November be kept holie, and thanckes-giving made to God for his maiesties and the states happie deliverance, according to the ordinance in that behalf," See section 6:20 of "Montaigne's articles," Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions for the Early Stuart Church*, p. 82.

[288] "Whether any person who hath committed fornication, adulterie, or other offence, punishable by the ecclesiasticall law, hath not beene presented nor punished by the ordinarie in regard of any pennance enioyned unto them, by any of his maiesties justices of the peace," *Ibid*, Section 7:9.

[289] The only difference between these two articles resides in Davenant's added emphasis on royal supremacy and popery. In addition, Davenant's section of anti-Calvinist sentiment was omitted in Townson's articles. This section read: "whether doth your minister…deliver those high points of predestination, reprobation, universality of grace and other of like nature, by his majesty's express directions lately forbidden," *Davenant's Articles*, Section 3:20, sig. B3.

The problematic relationship between the prelate and his officials is most evident in the 1619 visitation articles of bishop Fotherby, which are immersed in the rhetoric of royal supremacy, social order and the problematic tendencies of diocesan officials.[292] Fotherby begins by discussing the ancient tradition of ecclesiastical constitutions, monarchical power and proper social order and even goes so far as to inquire whether the ministry "in their sermons do pray for all archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons; according to the 55 canon."[293] The sections dealing with churchwardens and other ecclesiastical officers contained queries concerning what Fotherby alleges to be their many faults. He questioned the moral conduct of his officials, their neglect in reporting crimes, their acting contrary to the canons, promoting unjust awards and bestowments, accepting bribes in court cases and even uttering threats against other officials and parishioners [Appendix VI]. Fotherby described his diocese as being a "country overburdened with them [officials],"[294] and depicts his churchwardens as opponents to ecclesiastical policy and even to the laws of the Church of England.

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[290] "if the Churchwardens, and Sidemen at this visitation, or any other henceforth shall wilfully, negligently, or ignorantly omit to present any cryme or offence worthy of presentmet and reformation or for heare of displeasing of some greater person do conceale the truth, wherof the minister, then, or after may have knowledge, that then the minister, who in conscience is chargeable therewith, shall give advertisement thereof to the said reverent father or his chancellor, unto whome they shall have ready accesse at all times, in such and the like cases," *Cotton's Articles*, sig. B4.

[291] "Whether do your minister admonish the churchwardens openly in the church at morning and evening prayer," "Archdeacon Lionel Sharpe's Articles for Berkshire Archdeaconry 1615," Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions for the Early Stuart Church*, Section 33, p. 131.

[292] It is worth noting that Davenant and Townson, the next two consecutive prelates of Salisbury, adopted John Overall's articles for Norwich as the foundation for their own articles rather than the precedent established by their predecessor bishop Fotherby.

[293] *Fotherby's Articles*, sig. A2.

When one considers Bishop Coldwell's articles for Salisbury Cathedral one tends to judge them chronologically rather than on the content of the material. I have left these two sets of articles of 1593 as a concluding commentary because their value to the study of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean episcopacy is most evidently and powerfully conveyed after an initial discussion of the articles of succeeding bishops of Sarum. As mentioned above [Chapter 2], Coldwell had never obtained a bachelor or doctor of divinity degree and therefore his articles prove to be a unique feature of the visitorial process. His articles are distinct from his successors in that they not only illuminate his character and social relations with his officials, but they also highlight his educational instruction and his own knowledge of his expected administerial responsibilities. They suggest that he took a more active interest in the administration and finances of his diocese and that he showed a particular interest in the education of his officials. In contrast to Cotton, Fotherby, Davenant and Townson, Coldwell was in one sense more concerned with the particulars of the financial status of his officials and practical administration and less concerned with depicting his officials as scandalous inferiors or wretched discomforts.[295]

Coldwell shows a particular interest in the payment and compensation of his officials for their work in the cathedral and in the management of church business. This interest demonstrates that the bishop took an active interest in the local affairs and administration of the church: "whether are the stall-wages duly and orderly paid unto every the vicars-choral by such as are to pay the same, yes or no?"[296] Throughout his articles Coldwell continually refers to the lesser ecclesiastical officials and inquires into the number of priests, deacons, chorus men and the condition of the fabric of the church that they are responsible for including their own residences.[297] Rather than critiquing the actions of the officials, Coldwell makes constructive inquiries as to the function of their duties and whether or not they are performing their required acts.[298]

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[294] *Ibid*, Section 5.

[295] Parkhurst had described his officials in relation to agonizing physical ailments such as 'the stone' and 'the goute' and Fotherby had described his officials as morally corrupt men.

[296] "Coldwell's Articles for Salisbury," in W. P. M Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, p. 279.

His inquiry into the function and duties of lesser officials and ministry and into local administration also reflects his interest in the education of these officials.[299] Coldwell's interest in the educational instruction of his officials and his support for an erudite ministry is reinforced by his insistence on their regular attendance in school and commitment to academic learning: "whether the choristers and other young men serving in the church do resort and repair to the grammar school, or no?"[300] Unlike his successors, Coldwell focused more intensely on the academic learning and administrative instruction of his officials than on their moral character.

These two sets of articles demonstrate their value for understanding the character and educational instruction of the bishop and his interpretation of ecclesiastical policy. Coldwell's medical studies and his interest in the medical profession are expressed within his visitation articles for the churchwardens:

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[297] In the first set of articles Coldwell makes an enquiry "whether the prebendaries' houses both within the close and abroad be well and sufficiently repaired or do; and through whose default they lack reparations?," *Ibid*, p. 275 and in the second set of articles "whether the said vicar's common-hall, buttery and kitchen with all other their houses and building unto the said common-hall belonging be maintained and repaired accordingly or no?" *Ibid*, p. 277 and "whether a sufficient number of priests deacons and singingmen and other inferior ministers for the celebration of Divine Service in the cathedral church of Sarum be now provided or no according to the statutes of the Church; and if not then it is to be presented by whose default it chanceth; and what number wanted, and for how long time since the last visitation such default hath been, and what profit groweth to any person or persons by the vacation of these forms?" *Ibid*, p. 277.

[298] "whether any of the said vicar-choral, officers or ministers, or any of them have been dissolute, negligent and careless in the function in their offices and duties, and wherein?" *Ibid*, p. 276. Cotton, Fotherby, Davenant and Townson all critiqued the wrongdoings of their officials and never asked what was required of them and how they were executing their duties. Coldwell held two rectories, the deanery of Rochester and the archdeaconry of Chichester. His knowledge of administrative business and proper management of ecclesiastical affairs is apparent in his interrogation of the practical duties of his officials.

[299] In the first set of articles, the last point asks "whether the grammar-school be carefully looked unto, and whether the scholars be often examined to understand their profiting; and whether the master's wages be competent, and if not how it may be increased?" *Ibid*, p. 276. In the second set of articles Coldwell asks "whether the portion of the altarists or audistors are bestowed upon or otherwise upon others that be no scholars?" *Ibid*, p. 279.

[300] *Ibid*, p. 275. Coldwell continues this line of inquiry throughout the second set of articles, and in fact, almost repeats the same statement: "whether the choristers do repair to the grammar-school in due and convenient times as they may be spared from the church?" *Ibid*, p. 278.

"whether there be any butchers that kill within the close; or any glovers or curriers that hang out their leathers whereby the air may be infected?"[301] This statement illustrates how one can extract valuable information pertaining to the knowledge, interests, training and experience of the early modern episcopacy.

Although religious diversity is evident within the visitation articles, ecclesiastical consensus can be seen as a common mode of expression in these articles of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart church. Subtle discrepancies exist between the ecclesiastical policies and theological emphasis among these prelates. What can be said for certain is that the relations between the prelate and his officials were often difficult. The administration of the diocese was the responsibility of both prelate and his officials. If the bishop was advocating one ecclesiastical policy and his officials were implementing another, to what extent did the prelate's policies and personal involvement in the administration of diocesan government actually influence the lower clergy, ministers and parishioners? As this question remains beyond the focus of this study, it will be sufficient to say that the visitation was an important point of contact between prelate and other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Moreover, it was an occasion for prelate and officials to state their grievances and concerns in the administration of the diocese and debate their respective positions and consequent authority in church governance. Although discrepancies existed in the implementation of ecclesiastical policies of the prelates and their officials, the broader structure, administration and theological position of the Church of England continued to be driven by a general consensus of ecclesiastical governance that was supported and propagated by its leading spiritual governors and, consequently, by their diocesan officials.

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[301] *Ibid*, p. 276. Coldwell was a medical and clerical chaplain to Archbishop Parker.

Concluding Remarks

Fincham's *Prelate as Pastor*, the first detailed study of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean bishops, fully deserves its widespread recognition as a crucial furtherance of revisionist reinterpretations of religion and of the importance of the episcopacy. However, Fincham did not choose to examine closely the bishops' relations with their officials. Other issues, moreover, such as the extent and importance of the visitation, the roles of the prelates, the entrenchment of Protestantism and the question of Arminianism remain in need of further research and explanation. Fincham has stated that the 'custodians of order,' popularly known as Arminians, were a recognizable form of churchmen in the 1580s. Does this refute Nicholas Tyacke's claim for the rise of Arminianism in the 1620s or does it simply stretch the story further back into the Elizabethan church? Peter Lake has suggested that such an ideological conformist tradition linked the bishops of Elizabethan England and those of James I. However, he concludes that this ideological continuity does not prove that the Arminian takeover of the church under Charles I and his archbishop William Laud was not novel nor that it was an 'optical illusion.' Thus, substantial questions and concerns regarding the roles of the prelates and the nature of their religious policies remain unanswered.

Patrick Collinson, Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake have begun to reassess the implications of religious issues under Elizabeth I and James I for the broader context of early modern England and they have provided a solid foundation for further research into the bishop's roles, responsibilities, and diocesan relations. They claim, and rightly so, that the theme 'unity among diversity' best illustrates the ecclesiastical policies of both prelate and official and the theological character of the Church of England. The common consensus of the leading figures of the Church of England is most evident within the visitation records and in their implementation of ecclesiastical policies. As to ecclesiastical policies, prelates and their officials encountered numerous instances of differing opinions and actions; however, the duties and expectations of church personnel were never questioned. Most importantly, the tensions that did exist between the spiritual governor and his officials were concentrated around the issues of local politics, regional diversity, networks of patronage and the degree of authority that was granted to enforce ecclesiastical policies within each parish. Regional diversity, academic training, peer groups and demographic trends contributed to the personal character, charisma and ambition of any bishop. These qualities conditioned the way the bishops perceived their position within the church and the way they interpreted the existing theological consensus. Just as tensions existed between prelates and their officials, prelates challenged each other on theological matters *within*, not *about*, the structure of the Church of England. Although prelates adopted different roles to express their position as spiritual governors within the church, a common understanding of ecclesiastical programs and a theological consensus fused them together both as spiritual leaders of the parishioners and as senior agents of the crown. Because these differing roles and ecclesiastical policies of the bishops affect our understanding of the period prior to 1603 and beyond 1625, these issues deserve to be examined in greater detail and with renewed vigour.

The late Elizabethan and early Jacobean episcopacy were an identifiable community of governors dedicated to the efficient management of both the spiritual and administrative needs of the diocese. The mutual participation and shared interests and skills of the bishops and their officials in the daily operations of diocesan governance bound them together into a cohesive community of governors and administrators of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Ecclesiastical administration was a well-organized, efficient, and even standardized, operative system of governance at the local, regional and national level. When working within this system, ecclesiastical officials relied upon an intricate network of social relations and patronage. Administrative and judicial procedures within the Church of England, from the High Court of Commission, episcopal and archdiaconial courts of appeal and of first instance to the responsibilities of the churchwardens, vicars and ministry, all followed a similar pattern of administration, accommodation and execution. Ecclesiastical administration was a well established and coherent corporate system with identifiable offices and personnel whose duties were understood and acknowledged by their contemporaries as important to the proper management of church business. It would even be appropriate to suggest that positions and duties, whether administrative or judicial, within the church were common knowledge among ecclesiastical officials and, therefore, an unspoken language of administration was quite possibly a prominent feature of the early modern Church of England:

"When we first encounter Tudor churchwardens [and for that matter, all ecclesiastical officeholders], the very real local variations in practice fade next to the sort of uniformity provided by the agreed categories of their duties and their universal recognition as a stable and standard part of local government."[302] Officials exploited and relied upon the assistance and knowledge of other officials, patrons and bishops in conjunction with their own knowledge of a region and available local resources to fulfill their duties in the way most beneficial to them and to their domain of governance. The roles and actions of ecclesiastical officials, whether the bishop or those subordinate to him, and their 'structures of assistance' all contribute to, if not directly influence, ecclesiastical policy and the spiritual guidance and practical administrative function of the Church of England. Research upon these roles, actions and policies affects not only the historiography surrounding the late Tudors and early Stuarts, but it also affects the way we understand the events after the reign of James I and then, more broadly and importantly, the history of early modern England.

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[302] Eric Carlson, "The Origins, Function, and Status of the Office of the Churchwarden with Particular Reference to the Diocese of Ely," in Margaret Spufford (ed.), *The World*

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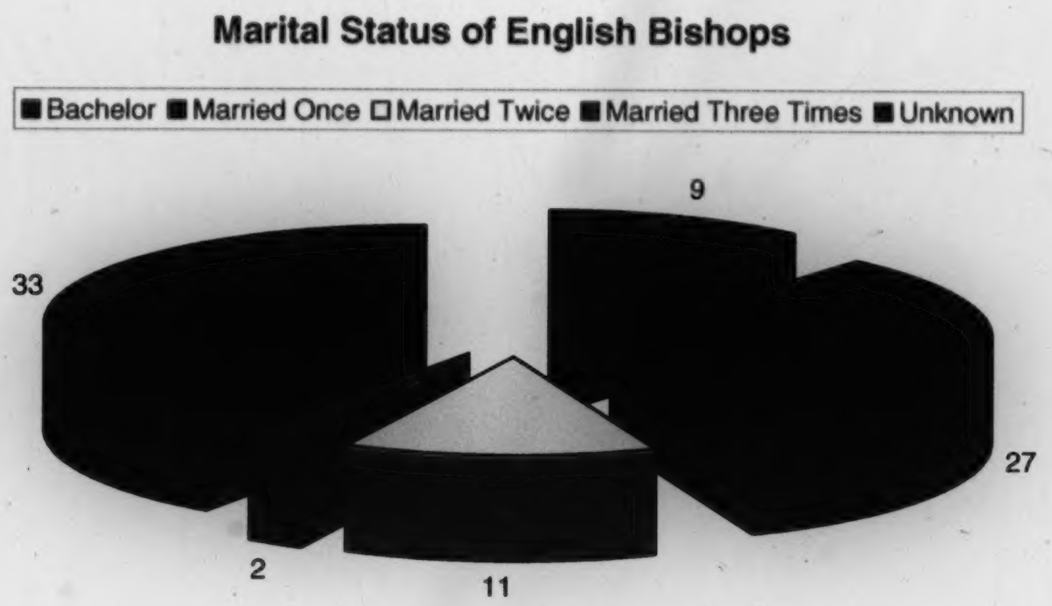
of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725 (Cambridge, 1995), p. 170.

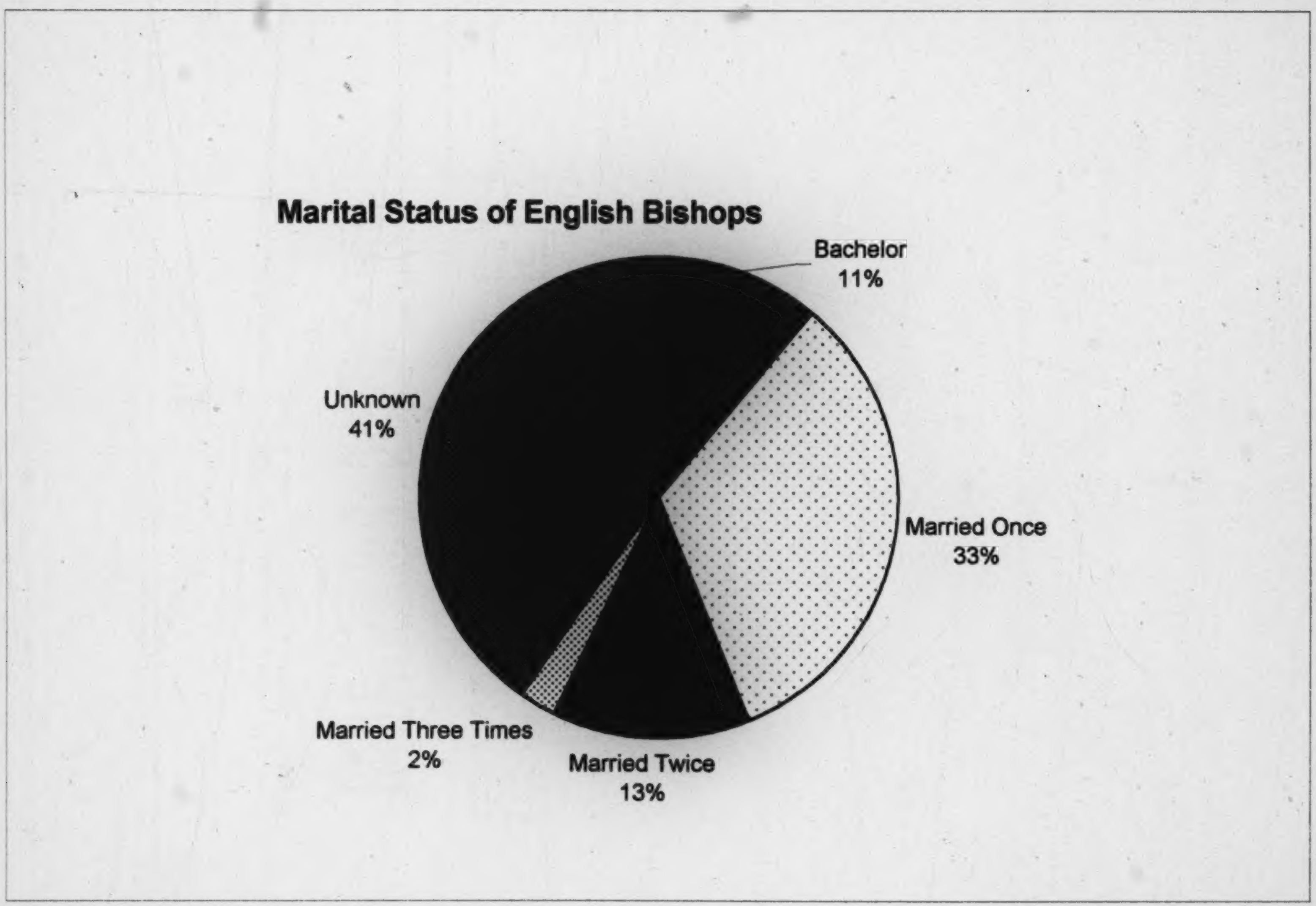
APPENDIX I

MARITAL STATUS

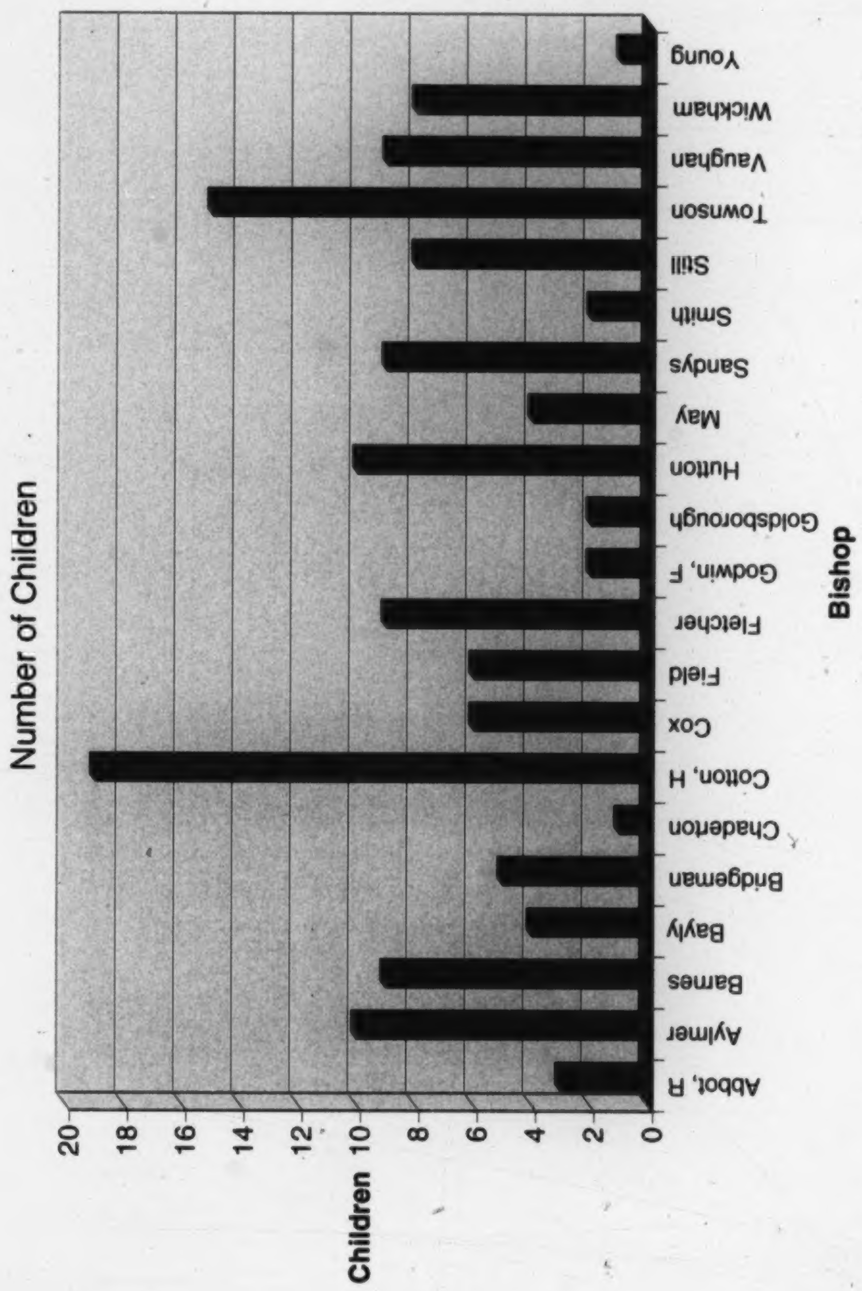
The marital status of the episcopacy is unknown for Bellot, Bennet, Bilson, Buckeridge, Carey, Carleton, Coldwell, William Cotton, Davenant, Dove, Field, Goodman, Hanmer, Lake, Laud, Lloyd, Montague, Montaigne, Neile, Overall, Phillips, Piers, Ravis, Robinson, Senhouse, Westfaling, Williams, and Wright. The bishops who were married twice include Robert Abbot, Barnes, Cox, Fletcher, Thomas Godwin, Goldsborough, Morgan, Sandys, Smith, Still and Thornborough. However, even more unusual, and to the great displeasure of queen Elizabeth I, bishops Mathew Hutton and William James married three times.

1. Table I Marital Status of English Bishops 113
2. Table II Marital Status of English Bishops 114
3. Table III Number of Children 115


Marital Status of English Bishops
■ Bachelor ■ Married Once ☐ Married Twice ■ Married Three Times ■ Unknown
9
33
27
2
11



Marital Status of English Bishops


Number of Children
Children
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
Bishop
Abbot, R
Aylmer
Barnes
Bayly
Bridgeman
Chaderton
Cotton, H
Cox
Field
Fletcher
Godwin, F
Goldsborough
Hutton
May
Sandys
Smith
Still
Townson
Vaughan
Wickham
Young

APPENDIX II

CAREERS

In Table I, information was not available for bishops Davenant and Snoden, therefore, their consecration dates are the only church advancements listed. Also, the complete record of the advancements of bishops George Abbot, Dove, Fotherby, Lloyd, Montague and Rudd was not available in the sources used for this survey. As a result, their analysis for geographical and regional advancements cannot be conclusive.

The Life-span of the episcopacy, noted in Table IV, does not include bishops Barlow, Bayly, Bennet, Bridges, Carleton, Coldwell, Henry Cotton, William Cotton, Fletcher, May, Milbourne, Piers, Scory, Senhouse, Snoden and Watson as their date of birth was not confirmed by the available sources. Likewise, in Table VI, these bishops are also omitted.

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Ecclesiastical Advancements of the English Episcopacy

Bishop Last Name Abbot, G

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
27 May 1609 Coventry & Lichfield 12 Dec 1609 London 4 March 1610 Canterbury [nominated by earl of Dunbar]					1. Dean of Winchester 6 March 1599-1600 2. Dean of Gloucester [succeeded Dr. Thomas Morton]	

Bishop Last Name Abbot, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
Dec 1615 Salisbury [by preferment of James I]			1. Rector of bishops Hatfield 2. 1584 Herts & All Saints 3. 1589 Worcester 4. 1598 Bingham, Notts 5. 1611 Fillingham, Lincoln	1. 1610 Prebend of Normanton attached to the ancient church of Southwell		

Bishop Last Name Andrewes, L

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1605 Chichester 1609 Ely 1619 Winchester	1. 1589 Canon of St. Paul's 2. 1598 Canon of Westminster	1. 1588-1604 Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate		1. 1589 Prebend of Southwell	1. 1601 Dean of Westminster 2. Dean of Royal Chapel [1619 until his death]	

Bishop Last Name Aylmer, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
24 March 1576-7 London		1. 1543 Vicar of Wellington, Somerset	1. 1541 Rector of Rodney Stoke and Stoke Gifford 2. 1561 Rector of Casington Co., Leicester	1. 1543 Prebend of Wells 2. 1564 Prebend of Lincoln		1. 15 June 1553 Archdeacon of Stow, in diocese of Lincoln [deprived and held it again in 1559] 2. 1562 Archdeacon of Lincoln [remained in Lincoln for 14 years]

Bishop Last Name Babington, G

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
29 Aug 1591 Llandaff 4 Oct 1597 [confirmed] Worcester		1. 1585 Vicar of Bolbridge in Wilts	1. 1585 Rector of Dichampton in Wilts 2. 1585 Rector of Wilton St. Mary 3. 1597 Rector of Stokeinteighead, Devon	1. 1588 Prebend of Wellington in Hereford cathedral 2. 1588 Prebend of Llandegla in Collegiate church of Brecon		

Bishop Last Name Bancroft, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
5 June 1597 London 17 Nov 1604 [elected] archbishop of Canterbury	1. 19 July 1587 Canon of Westminster 2. Canon of Canterbury		1. Rector of Teversham, near Cambridge 2. 1586 Rector of Cottingham, Northamptonshire [by preferment of Christopher Hatton] 3. 1584 Rector of St. Andrew, Holborn [by preferment of Christopher Hatton]	1. 1567 Prebend of Malhidert in church of St. Patrick, Dublin [by preferment of archbishop Curwen] 2. 1594-5 Prebend of Bromesbury in church of St. Paul		

Bishop Last Name Barlow, W

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1605 Rochester 1608 Lincoln	1. 1597-1601 canon of St. Paul's 2. 1601 Canon of Westminster		1. 1597 rector of St. Dustan's-in-the-East by the Tower [by preferement of Whitgift] 2. 1597 Rector of Orpinton, Kent 3. 1605 Rector of Southfleet	1. Prebend of stall of Chiswick in St. Paul's Cathedral [by preferment of Bishop Bancroft] 2. 1601 prebend stall in Westminster - in commendam with Chiswick 3. 1606-8 prebend at Canterbury	1. 1602 dean of Chester	

Bishop Last Name Barnes, Richard

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1567 Suffragan bishop of Nottingham 1570 Carlisle 1577-97 Durham	1. 1567 Canon residentiary		1. 1561 rector of Stanegrace and Stokesley, Yorks			

Bishop Last Name Bayly, L

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

8 Dec 1616 Bangor [by preferment of James I]	1. 1614 Canon of Lichfield	1. Vicar of Evesham 2. Vicar of Worcester 3. 1607 Vicar of Weaverham, Cheshire	1. 1605 Rector of Llanedy, Carmarthen 2. 1612-6 Rector of St. Mathew, London 3. [Rectories in commendam from 1624: Llandbeulan, Llanddeusant and Trefdraeth in county of Angelsey; Llanfihangel-Itraith in county of Merioneth; Llandinam Montgomery 1628 and of Llandiestyn, Carnarvon 1628 until his death]			1. 1616 Archdeacon of St. Albans and of Angleaey

Bishop Last Name Bellot, H

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
30 Jan 1585-6 Bangor 25 June 1595 Chester		1. Vicar of Gresford, Denbighshire	1. Rector of Tyd St. Giles, Cambridgeshire 2. Rector of Doddington-cum-march, in isle of Ely 15 March 1572-3 on preferment of Cox] 3. Rector of Caerys, Flintshire			

Bishop Last Name Bennet, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
20 Feb 1602-3 Hereford		1. 1593 Vicar of Eling, Hants		1. Prebend of Winchester 23 March 1595-6	1. 1596 dean of Windsor	

Bishop Last Name Bilson, T

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
13 June 1596 Worcester 13 May 1597 Winchester	1. 1597-1616 Canon of Winchester		1. 1574 Rector of Chawton, Hants 2. 1577 Rector of Michelmarsh 3. 1583 Rector of Droxford 4. 1586 Rector of Kingsworthy	1. Prebend of Winchester 12 Jan 1576 and warden of the college		

Bishop Last Name Bridgeman, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1618 Chester	1. Canon residentiary of Exeter 2. 1613 Canon of Exeter 3. 1616 Canon of Lichfield	1. 1604 Vicar of West Alvington 2. 1607 Vicar of Heavitree, Devon 3. 1610 Vicar of Bexhill, Sussex	1. 1604 Rector of North Tawton, Devon 2. Rector of Wigan, Lancaster 3. 1621-40 Rector of Bangor-Is-y-Coed	1. 1605 First prebend at Peterborough 2. 1604 Prebend of Carswell, Castro, Exon		1. Archdeacon of Barnstaple

Bishop Last Name Bridges, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1603-4 Oxford	1. 1565 Canon of Winchester	1. 1563 Vicar of Herne, Kent 2. 1566 Vicar of Bishops Waltham, Hants 3. 1598 Vicar of Broughton, Hants	1. 1562 Rector of Paglesham, Essex 2. 1566 Rector of Brightwell, Berks 3. 1572 Rector of Cheriton, Hants 4. 1579 Rector of Harbledown St. Michael 5. 1590 Rector of Kent	1. 1556-1610 Prebend of Winchester	1. 1577 Dean of Salisbury	

Bishop Last Name Buckeridge, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1611 Rochester 1628 Ely	1. 1606 Canon of Windsor	1. 1604 Vicar of St. Giles, London	1. 1596-9 Rector of North Fambridge, Essex 2. 1599 Rector of North Kilworth, Leicester 3. 1610 Rector of Southfleet, Kent	1. 1587 Prebend of Rochester 2. 1604 Rector of Hereford 3. April 1604 Prebend of Colwall in cathderal of Hereford		1. March 1604 Archdeacon of Northampton

Bishop Last Name Carey, V

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1621 Exeter		1. Vicar of Exminster		1.1601 Prebend of Chiswick 2. 1607-21 Prebend of Stow Longa at Lincoln	1. Dean of St. Paul's	1. 1606 Archdeacon of Salop

Bishop Last Name Carleton, G

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1618 Llandaff 1619 Chichester		1. 1589 Vicar of Mayfield, Sussex	1. 1605 Rector of Waddesdon, Bucks 2. 1609 Rector of Nuffield, Oxon			

Bishop Last Name Chaderton, W

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1579 Chichester [through Leicester's influence] - resided in Mancester 1595 Lincoln	1. 1576 Canon in church of Westminster		1. 1568 Rector of West Riding of York 2. Rector of Bangor	1. 1574 Prebend of Fenton, Yorkinster 2. Prebend of Westminster		1. Archdeacon of York [resigned 1575] 2. Archdeacon of Winchester [resigned 1575]

Bishop Last Name Coldwell, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
26 Dec 1591 Salisbury			1. 1558 Rector of Aldington, Kent 2. 13 June 1572 Rector of Tunstan, Kent 3. 1580 Rector of Saltwood, Kent		1. 26 Sept 1581 Dean of Rochester	1. 1571 archdeacon of Chichester [resigned 1575]

Bishop Last Name Cooper, T

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1570-1 Lincoln 1584 Winchester				1. 1573 Prebend of Lincoln	1. 1567 Dean of Christ Church 2. 1569 Dean of Gloucester	

Bishop Last Name Cotton, H

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
12 Nov 1598 Salisbury	1. 1586 Canon of Winchester	1. 1582-3 Vicar of Wanborough, Wilts	1. 1584 Rector of Calbourne, Isle of Wright 2. 1588 Rector of Meonstoke, Hants			

Bishop Last Name Cotton, W

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

1598 Exeter	1. 1577-99 Canon of St. Paul's		1. Rich rectory of Silverton 2. 1578 Rector of St. Margaret 3. 1581 Rector of West Tilbury, Essex 4. 1581-98 Rector of Finchley Middlesex 5. 1600 Rector of Bratton, Clovelly 6. 1600-15 Rector of Silverton St. Mary	1. 1577-98 Prebend of Sneating in St. Paul's Cathedral		1. 1578 Archdeacon of Lewes

Bishop Last Name Cox, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1543 Bishop designate of Southwell 1559 Ely 1559 Norwich	1. 16 July 1548 Canon of Windsor		1. 1544 Rector of Harrow-on-the-hill, Middlesex 2. 1552 Rector of Kelshall, Herts	1. 1541 Prebend of Ely 2. 1542-7 Prebend of Sutton, Lincoln	1. 1543-6 Dean of Osney 2. 1546-53 Dean of Christ Church 3. 1549 Dean of Westminster	1. 1540 Archdeacon of Ely

Bishop Last Name Curteys, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
Chichester 1570	1. Canon in Canterbury cathedral [by preferment of Queen Elizabeth I]	1. Vicar of Ryhall			1. 1566 Dean of Chichester	

Bishop Last Name Davenant, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1621 Salisbury [by preferment of by James I]						

Bishop Last Name Dove, T

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1601 Peterborough			1. Rector of Framlingham		1. 1589 Dean of Norwich	

Bishop Last Name Felton, N

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1617 Bristol 1618-9 Ely			1. Rector of St. Mary-le-bow, Cheapside until he became bishop of Bristol	1. Prebend of Chamberlains-wood in St. Paul's Cathedral		

Bishop Last Name Field, T

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
10 Oct 1619 Llandaff Sept 1627 St. David's [by influence of Buckingham] 15 Dec 1635 Hereford		1. Vicar of Mashfield, Sussex 2. Vicar of Lydd, Kent 1611	1. Rector of Cotton, Suffolk			

Bishop Last Name Fletcher, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
14 Dec 1589 Bristol 1592-3 Worcester 1595 London		1. 1550 vicar of Bishops Stortfort until 1555 [deprived by Mary I] 2. Vicar of Cranbrook, kent [by preferment of Elizabeth I]	1. Rector of Barnack, Northamptonshire 2. Rector of Algarkirke, Lincoln	1. 1569 prebend of Islington in St. Paul's Cathedral [by preferment of archbishops Mathew Parker's son] 2. 1585-6 prebend of Stow Longa in Lincoln Cathedral	1. 1583 dean of Peterborough	

Bishop Last Name Fotherby, M

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1612 Salisbury				1. Prebend of Canterbury 1596	1. Dean of Canterbury 1615	1. Archdeacon of Canterbury 1596

Bishop Last Name Godwin, F

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1601 Llandaff 1617 Hereford [by preferment of James I]	1. 1595-6 Canon residentiary of Wells		1. 1595 Rector of Sampford Dorcas, Somersetshire 2. 1595 Rector of Bishops Lydiard 3. 1616 Rector of Kingston Seymour in diocese of Bath and Wells 4. 1603 rector of Shere Newton, Mamouthshire	1. 1586 prebend of St. Deamans in Cathedral church of Wells	1. Subdean of Exeter 1587	

Bishop Last Name Godwin, T

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1584 Bath and Wells	1. 1560-83 Canon of Lincoln		1. 1560 Rector of Kirkby, Mallory, Leicester 2. 1561 Rector of Hannington and Winwick, Northants 3. 1562 Rector of Lutterworth, Leicester 4. 1573 Rector of Ruckling, Kent		1. 1565-7 Dean of Christ Church 2. 1567 Dean of Canterbury	

Bishop Last Name Goldsborough, G

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1598 Gloucester	1. 1580 Canon of Hereford 2. 1581 Canon of Worcester		1. Rector of Stockton	1. 1579-80 prebend of Gornwall in church of Hereford 2. 1581 Prebend of Caddington Minor in church of St. Paul's, London 3. 1585 prebend called Episcopi Sive Paenitentiarri [a Golden prebend in the church of Hereford]		1. 1577 archdeacon of Worcester 2. 1580 Archdeacon of Salop, Lichfield

Bishop Last Name Goodman, G

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1625 Gloucester	1. 1617 Canon of Windsor	1. Vicar of Stapleford Abbots, Essex	1. 1616 Rector of West Ilsley, Berkshire	1. 1607 Prebend of Westminster		

Bishop Last Name Grindal, E

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1559 London 1570 Canterbury	1. 1552 Canon of Westminster			1. 1552 Prebend of Westminster		

Bishop Last Name Hanmer, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

1624 St. Asaph	1. 1614 Canon of Worcester		1. 1603 Rector of Stoke Lacy, co. Hereford 2. 1608-15 Rector of Hutton, Somerset 3. 1615-24 Rector of Bingham, Nottinghamshire 4. 1627 Rector of Llandfyllin, co. Montgomery	1. Prebend of Worcester		

Bishop Last Name Harsnett, S

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1609 Chichester 1619 Norwich 1628 York		1.1597 Vicar of Chigwell, Essex	1. 1604 Rector of Shenfield, Essex 2. 1609 rector of Stisted, Essex	1. 1598 Prebend of Mapesbury in St. Paul's cathedral		1. 1602-3 archdeacon of Essex

Bishop Last Name Heton, M

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1598-9 Ely [compelled by Elizabeth I to accept see]	1. 1582 Canon at Christ Church		1. 1590 Rector of Houghton 2. 1595 Rector of Abbots Anne, Hants		1. 1589 dean of Winchester	

Bishop Last Name Howson, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
9 May 1619 Oxford 1628 Durham		1. 1598 Vicar of Bampton, Oxon 2. 1601 Vicar of Great Milton, Oxfordshire	1. 1601 Rector of Britwell Salome, Oxfordshire	1. 1587 Prebend of Hereford Cathdral 2. 1592 Prebend of Exeter		

Bishop Last Name Hutton, M

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1589 Durham [elected through Burghley] 1595-6 York	1. Canon of Ely 2. Canon of Westminster [by preferement of Earl of Leicester]		1. 4 Sept 1563 Rector of Boxworth, Cambridgeshire [presented by his relative John Hutton esq.]	1. 5 Oct 1562-4 Prebend of St. Paul's, London 2. Prebend at York and Southwell 3. 1567 Prebend of Osbaldwich in church of York 4. 1568 Prebend of Oxton Prima pars in the church of Southwell	1. 1567 dean of York	

Bishop Last Name James, W

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1606 Durham			1. 1575-1601 Rector of Kingham, Oxfordshire 2. Rector of Egglescliffe 3. 1603-6 Rector of Durham		1. 1584 Dean of Christ Church 2. 5 June 1596 dean of Durham	1. 1577-84 Archdeacon of Coventry

Bishop Last Name Jegon, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1602-3 Nowich					1. Dean of Norwich 1601	

Bishop Last Name King, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

1611 London [by preferment of James I]	1. 1580 Canon of Windsor		1.1580 Rector of St. Anne and St. Agnus, London 2.1597 Rector of St. Andrews, Holborn 3. 1599 Rector of Black Notley, Essex	1. 1599-1611 Prebend of Sneating in the church of St. Paul 2. 1610-1 Prebend of Lincoln	1. 1605-11 Dean of Christ Church	1. 1590-1611 Archdeacon of Nottingham

Bishop Last Name Lake, A

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1616 Bath & Wells			1. 1599 Rector of Havent 2. 1601 Rector of Hambledon 3. 1603 Rector of Chilcomb, Hants 4. 1605 Rector of Stoke Charity, Hants		1. 1608 Dean of Worcester	1. 1605Archdeacon of Surrey

Bishop Last Name Laud, W

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1621 St. David's [by preferment of James I] 1626 Bath and Wells [by preferment of Charles I] 1628 London 1633 Canterbury	1. 1614 Canon of Lincoln 2. 1621 Canon of Westminster	1. 1607 Vicar of Stanford, Northants	1. 1608 Rector of North Kilworth, Leicester 2. 1609 Rector of West Tilbury, Essex 3. 1610 Rector of Cuxton, Kent 4. 1610 Rector of Norton 5. 1617 Rector of Ibstock, Leicester 6. 1623 Rector of Crick, North Ants	1. 1614 Prebend of Bugden, Church of Lincoln	1. 1616 Dean of Gloucester 2. 1627 Dean of Chapel Royal	1. 1615 Archdeacon of Huntingdon

Bishop Last Name Lloyd, G

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1600 Sodor and Man 1604 Chester			1. Rector of Hewsell-in-Wirrall, Cheshire			

Bishop Last Name Mathew, T

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1595 Durham 18 April 1606 York	1. 1570-6 Canon of Christ Church 2. 1572 Canon of Salisbury 3. 1578 Canon of Wells	1. 1590 Vicar of Bishops Wearmouth	1. 1571 Algarkirk, Lincoln 2. 1590-5 Rector of Bishop Wearmouth	1. 1572 Prebend of Teynton Regis in Cathdral of Salisbury	1. 1576 dean of christ church 2. 1583 Dean of Durham	1.1572 Archdeacon of Bath

Bishop Last Name May, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1577 Carlisle	1. 1564-82 Canon of Ely		1. Rector of Aston Sandford, Buckinghamshire 2. Rector of Long Staton St. Michael, Cambridge 3. Rector of North Creake, Norfolk 1562 [by preferement of archbishop Parker] 4. Rector of Darfield, Yorkshire 1562 5. Rector of St. Dustan-in-the East, London 1573-4			1. Archdeacon of East Riding of Yorkshire by proxy

Bishop Last Name Milbourne, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

1615 St. David's 1621 Carlisle			1. 1591 Rector of Sevenoaks 2. 1612 Rector of Goudhurst, Kent		1. 1611 Dean of Rochester	

Bishop Last Name Montague, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1608 Bath & Wells 4 Oct 1616 Winchester					1. Dean of Lichfield 2. Dean of Worcester 3. 1603 Dean of the chapel to James I	

Bishop Last Name Montaigne, G

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
14 Dec 1617 Lincoln 1619 Winchester June 1621 London 1627 Durham 1628 York			1. 27 May 1602 Rector of Great Cressingham, Norfolk		1. 28 Nov 1610 Dean of Westminster	

Bishop Last Name Morgan, W

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1595 Llandaff 1601 St. Asaph		1. 1575 Vicar of Welshpool 2. 1 Oct 1575 Vicar of Llanrhaiadr Mochnant, in counties of Montgomery and Denbighshire	1. 1579 Rector of Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire 2. 1570 Rector of Llandwyddelan, Montgomeryshire 3. 1588 Rector of Pennant Melangell 4. 1594 Rector of Denbigh			

Bishop Last Name Morton, T

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1615 Chester [by preferement of king James I - accepted with reluctance] 1618 Coventry & Lichfield 1632 Durham	1. Canon of Hosthwart in York minster		1. Rector of Long Marston, near York		1. Dean of Gloucester 2. Dean of Winchester [transferred by James I]	

Bishop Last Name Neile, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
9 Oct 1608 Rochester 1610 Lichfield and Coventry 1614 Lincoln 1617 Durham 1627 Winchester 28 Feb 1631 [elected] York	1. 1598 Canon of Chichester	1. 1590-1605 Vicar of Cheshunt, Herts 2. 1629 Vicar of Hambledon	1. 1598 Rector of Toddington, Beds [Lincoln] 2. 1608 Rector of Southfleet, Kent 3. 1612 Rector of Stafford 4. 1631 Rector of Bishops Waltham, Hants		1. 1605 Dean of Westminster	

Bishop Last Name Overall, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1605 Gloucester 1614 Coventry and Lichfield 1618 Norwich		1. Vicar of Epping, Essex	1. Rector of Clothall, Hertforshire 1603 2. Rector of Therfield, Hertfordshire 1604		1. Dean of St. Pauls 29 May 1602 [on recommendation of Sir Fulke Greville]	

Bishop Last Name Overton, W

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

1579 Coventry and Lichfield	1. 1559 Canon of Winchester 2. 1563 Canon of Chichester 3. 1570 Canon of Salisbury	1. 1555 Vicar of Eccleshall, Strafforshire	1. 1553 Rector of Balambe, Sussex 2. 1555 Rector of Swinnerton, Strafford 3. 1560 Rector of Upham 4. 1560 Rector of Nurseling 5. 1561 Rector of Exton, Hants 6. 1562 Rector of Cotton, Suffolk 7. 1569 Rector of Buriton, Hants 8. 1570 Rector of Rotherfield, Sussex 9. 1570 Rector of Stoke-upon-Trent and Hanbury	1. 1559 Prebend of Winchester		

Bishop Last Name Parry, H

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1607 Gloucester 1610 Worcester		1. 1591-4 Vicar of Monkton	1. 1594-6 Rector of Great Mongeham, Kent 2. 1596-1610 Rector of Sundridge, Chevening, Kent		1. 1605 Dean of Chester	

Bishop Last Name Parry, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1604 St. Asaph [by preferment of James I]		1. 1592-3 Vicar of Gresford 2. 1605 Vicar of Rhuddlan	1. 1605 Rector of Kilken 2. 1610 Rector of Combe 3. 1616 Rector of Llanrwst, Flints			

Bishop Last Name Phillips, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1605 Sodor and Man			1. 1579 Rector of Sessay, Yorkshire 1. 1583 Rector of Thorpe-Bassett, Yorkshire 2. 1587 Rector of Andreas, Isle of Man 3. 1591 Rector of Slingsby, Yorkshire			1. 1587 Archdeacon of Isle of Man 2. 1601 Archdeacon of Cleveland

Bishop Last Name Piers, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1576 Rochester 1577 Salisbury 1589 York		1. 1554 Vicar of West Ham, Essex	1. 1545-57 Rector of St. Edmund-the-king 2. 1558-67 Rector of Quainton, Buckinghamshire 3. 1567-73 Rector of Laindon, Essex 4. 1570 Rector of Fillingham, Lincoln		1. 1571-6 Dean of Christ Church 2. 1572 Dean of Salisbury	

Bishop Last Name Ravis, T

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
Oct 1604 Gloucester 18 May 1607 London [by preferment of James I]		1. 1598 Vicar of Allhallows, Barking 2. 1598 Vicar of Islip and of Wittenham Abbas, Berkshire	1. 1591 Rector of Merstham, Surrey	1. 1593-1607 Prebend of Westminster	1. 1595-1605 Dean of Christ Church	

Bishop Last Name Robinson, H

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
27 May 1598 Carlisle			1. 1580 Rector of Fairstead, Essex 2. Rector of Greystoke church			

Bishop Last Name Rowlands, H

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
16 Sept 1598 Bangor		1. Vicar of Llandraiadr-in-Kimmerch	1. 1572-81 Rector of Meyllteyren 2. 1581-1600 Rector of Langton, Oxfordshire 3. 1588 Rector of Aberdaron 4. 1601 Rector of Trefdraeth, Anglesey 5. 1612 Rector of Llanrhaiadr, Denbigh	1. 1584-94 Prebend of Penmynyd, Bangor Cathedral	1. 1593 Dean of Bangor	1. 1588 Archdeacon of Anglesey

Bishop Last Name Rudd, A

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1594 St. David's					1. 1584 Dean of Gloucester	

Bishop Last Name Sandys, E

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1559 Worcester 1570 London [Archbishop Parker against his advancement] 8 March 1575-6 York	1. 1549 Canon of Peterborough	1. 1548 Vicar of Caversham		1. Prebend at Carlisle		

Bishop Last Name Scory, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1551 Rochester 1552 Chichester 1559 Hereford						

Bishop Last Name Searchfield, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1619 Bristol		1. 1601 Vicar of Evenly, Northamptonshire 2. 1606 Vicar of Charlbury, Oxfordshire	1. 1601 Rector of Burthrop, Gloucester			

Bishop Last Name Senhouse, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
26 Sept 1624 Carlisle		1. 1606 Vicar of Bumsted Steeple, Essex	1.1608 Rector of West Cheam, Surrey		1. 13 Dec 1621 Dean of Gloucester	

Bishop Last Name Smith, M

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1612 Gloucester	1. 1580 Canon of Hereford 2. 1595-9 Canon of Exeter	1. 1584 Vicar of Bosbury	1.1587 Rector of Hartlebury and portion of Ledbury 2. 1604 Rector of Upton-on-Seven, Worcester	1. 1580 Prebend of Hinton, Hereford Cathedral 2. 1595 Prebend of Exeter Cathedral		

Bishop Last Name Snoden, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

1616 Carlisle

Bishop Last Name Still, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
11 Feb 1593 Bath and Wells	1. 1572 Canon of 7th stall at Westminster	1. 1573 Vicar of East Markham, Nottinghamshire	1. Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk [by preferement of Parker]		1. 4 Nov 1572 Dean of Bocking with Dr. Thomas Watts	1. 1576 Archdeacon of Sudbury

Bishop Last Name Thornborough, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
20 Sept 1593 Limerick [Ireland] 23 April 1603 Bristol 25 Jan 1616 Worcester	1. 1585 Canon of Salisbury		1. 1575 Rector of Orcheston St. Mary, Wiltshire 2. 1577 Rector of Marnhull, Dorset 3. 1578 Rector of Chilmark, Wiltshire, Yorkshire 4. 1601 Rector of Kirby, Misperton, Yorkshire 5. 1602 Rector of Brandesburton	1. Prebend of Bedminster and Ratcliffe in cathedral of Salisbury 2. 1616 Prebend of Tockerington until	1. 28 Oct 1589 Dean of York	

Bishop Last Name Townson, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
9 July 1620 Salisbury		1. Vicar of Wellingborough, Northamptonshire	1. Rector of Old, Northamptonshire		1. 1617 Dean of Westminster	

Bishop Last Name Underhill, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

8 Dec 1589 Oxford [on reccomendation of Walsingham]		1. 15 March 1586 One of the vicars of Bampton	1. 1577-90 Rector of Lincoln college 2. 7 Sept 1586 Rector of Thornton-le-Moors, Cheshire 3. 1586 Rector of Witney, Oxfordshire			

Bishop Last Name Vaughan, R

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
22 Nov 1595 Bangor 1597 Chester 1604 London [by preferement of James I]	1.1593 Canon of Cumbe in Wells cathedral		1. 1578-81 Rector of Chipping Ongar, Essex 2.1580 Rector of Little Cranfield, Essex 3. 1591 Rector of Great Dunmow, Essex 4. 1592 Rector of Moreton, Essex 5. 1594 Rector of Stanford Rivers, Essex	1. 1583 Prebend of Holborn in St. Paul's cathdral		1. 26 Oct 1588 Archdeacon of Middlesex 2. 1596 Archdeacon of Anglesey

Bishop Last Name Watson, A

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
15 Aug 1596 Chichester	1. 1592 Canon of Wells		1. 1581 Rector of Cheam, Surrey 2. 1591 Rector of Storrington, Sussex	1. Prebend of Wedmore secunda	1. 1590 Dean of Bristol	

Bishop Last Name Westfaling, H

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

Jan 1585 Hereford	1. Canon of Christ Church [through patronage of William Cecil] 2. 1577 Canon of Windsor		1. 1572 rector of Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire			

Bishop Last Name Whitgift, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1577 Worcester 23 Oct 1583 Canterbury	1. 5 Dec 1568 Canon in church of Ely		1. Rector of Laceby, Lincolnshire 2. Rector of Teversham	1. 1572 Prebend of Nassington church, Lincoln	1. 1571 Dean of Lincoln	

Bishop Last Name Wickham, W

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
6 Dec 1584 Lincoln [by preferment of archbishop Whitgift] 1595 Winchester [died before moving to Winchester]	1. 1571 Canon of Winsor 2. 1571 Canon of Westminster			1. 1570 Prebend of 4th stall at Westminster 2. 1577 Prebend of St. Botolph, Lincoln 3. Prebend of Eccleshall in cathedral church Lichfield	1. 1577 Dean of Lincoln	1. 1574 Archdeacon of Surrey

Bishop Last Name Williams, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon

1621 Lincoln 27 June 1641 York			1. 1605-10 Rector of Honington, Suffolk 2. 1610-12 Rector of Dodinghurst, Essex 3. 1611-21 Rector of Grafton Underwood, Northamptonshire 2. Rector of Walgrave 1614 [by bishop Neile of Lincoln]	1. 1612 Prebend of Hereford 2. 1613 Prebend of Laffard in Lincoln cathdral 3.1613 Prebend of Asgarby in Lincoln cathdral 4. 1616 First prebend in Peterborough cathedral	1. 1619 Dean of Salisbury 2. 1620 Dean of Westminster	1. 1610 Archdeacon of Cardigany [from Bancroft] 2. 1613 Archdeacon of Carmarthen

Bishop Last Name Wright, R

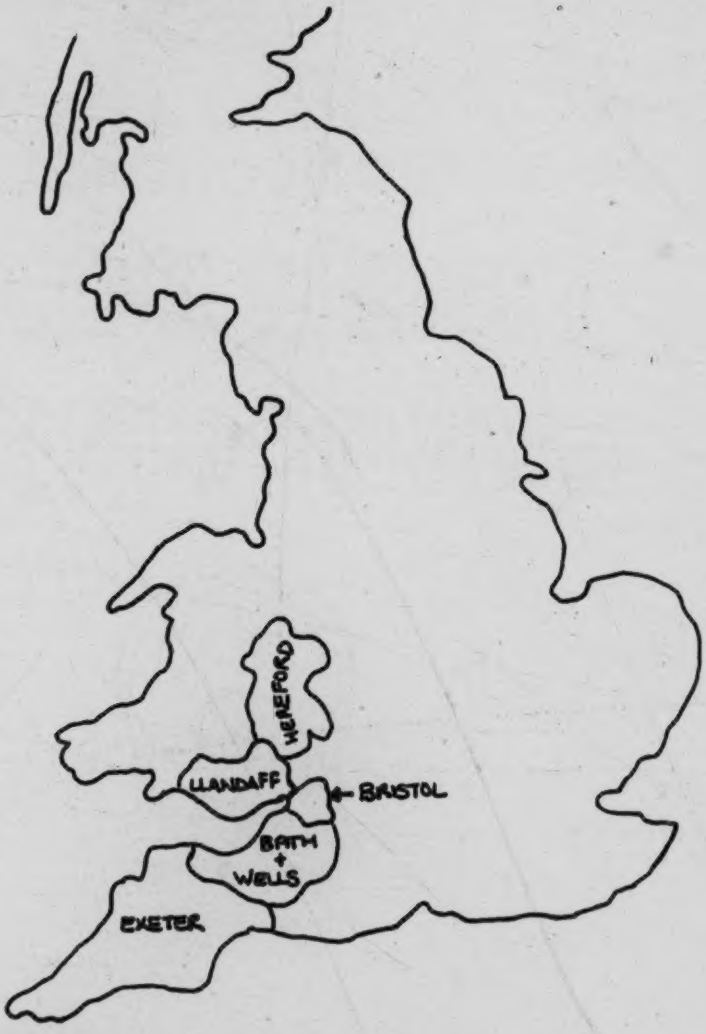
Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1622 Bristol 1632 Coventry & Lichfield	1. 1601 Canon residentiary in Wells	1. 1604 Vicar of Sonning, Berkshire	1. 1589-1619 Rector of Woodford, Essex 2. 1591 Rector of St. John the Evangelist, London 3. 1591 Rector of St. Katherine, London 4.1596 Rector of Brixton Deverell, Wiltshire 5.1601 Rector of Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucester 6. 1601 Rector of Hayes, Middlesex			

Bishop Last Name Young, J

Consecrated Bis	Canon	Vicarage	Rectory	Prebend	Dean/Subdean	Archdeacon
1578 Rochester	1. 1572 Canon of Windsor	1. Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London	1. 1566 Rector of St. Magnus, London	1. 1564 Prebend of Cadington Major in St. Paul's cathedral 2. 1566 Prebend of North Muskham		

Regional Trends in Church Advancements

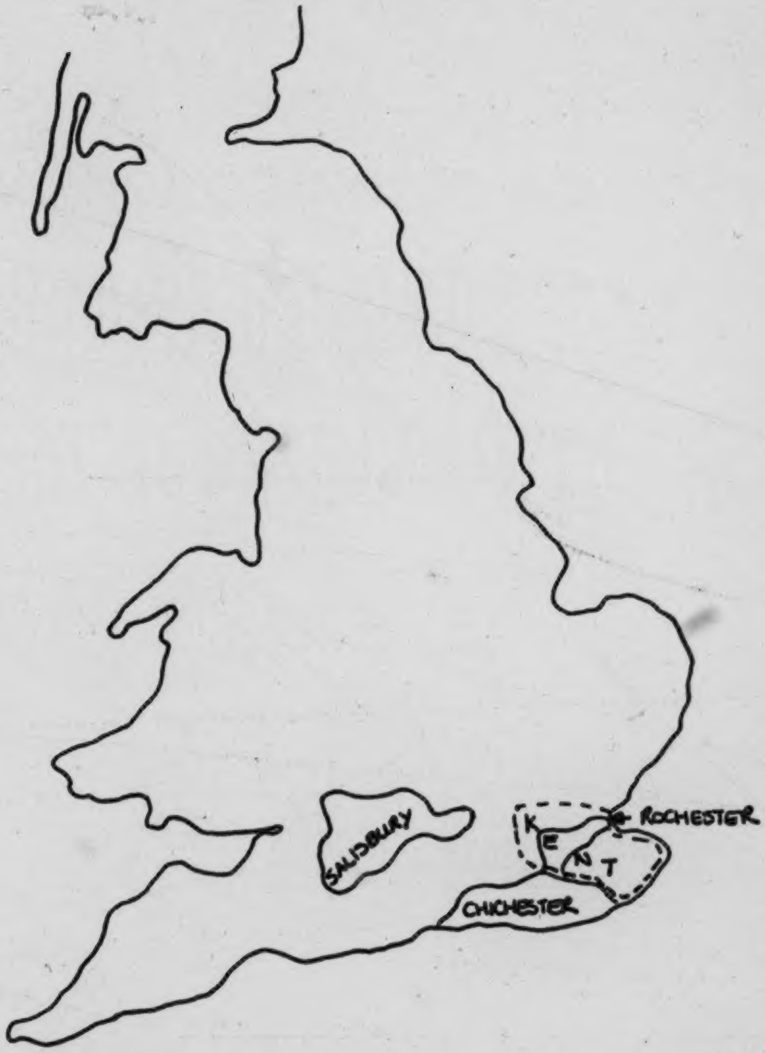
Francis Godwin



Advancements:

1. 1586 Prebend of St. Deamans in Cathedral Church of Wells
2. 1587 Subdean of Exeter
3. 1595 Canon Residentiary of Wells
4. 1595 Rector of Sampford Dorcas, Somersetshire, of Bishops Lydiard
5. 1601 Bishop of Llandaff
6. 1603 Rector of Shere Newton, Mamouthshire
7. 1616 Rector of Kingston Seymour, Bath and Wells
8. 1617 Bishop of Hereford

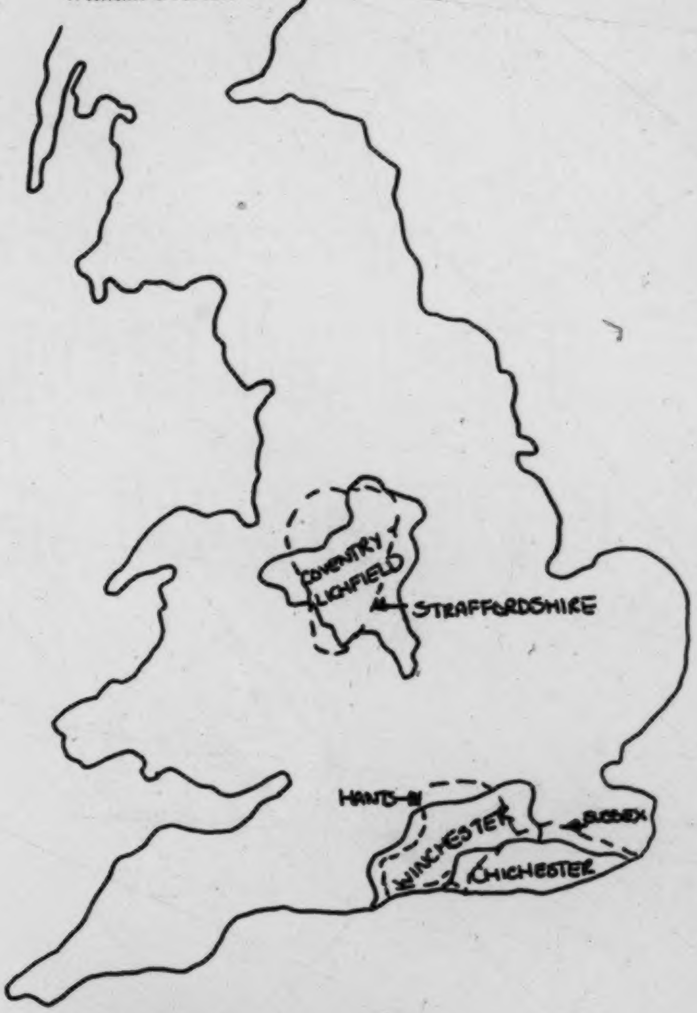
John Coldwell



Advancements:

1. 1558 Rector of Aldington, Kent
2. 1571 Archdeacon of Chichester
3. 1572 Rector of Tunstan, Kent
4. 1580 Rector of Saltwood, Kent
5. 1591 Bishop of Salisbury

William Overton

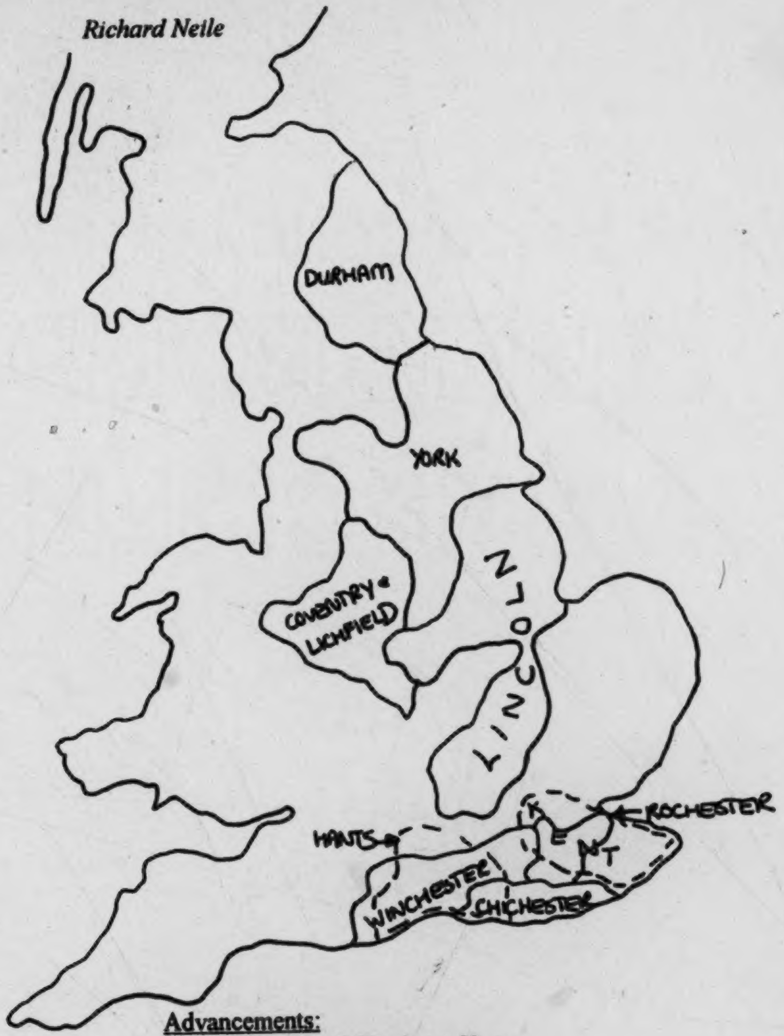


Advancements:

1. 1553 Rector of Balambe, Sussex
2. 1555 Vicar of Eccleshall, Straffordshire
3. 1555 Rector of Swinnerton, Straffordshire
4. 1559 Prebend of Winchester
5. 1559 Canon of Westminster
6. 1560 Rector of Upham
7. 1562 Rector of Cotton, Suffolk
8. 1563 Canon of Chichester
9. 1569 Rector of Burtin, Hants
10. 1570 Rector of Rotherfield, Sussex, Stoke-upon-Trent and Hanbury
11. 1570 Canon of Salisbury
12. 1579 Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield

Church Advancements that do not Follow Regional Trends

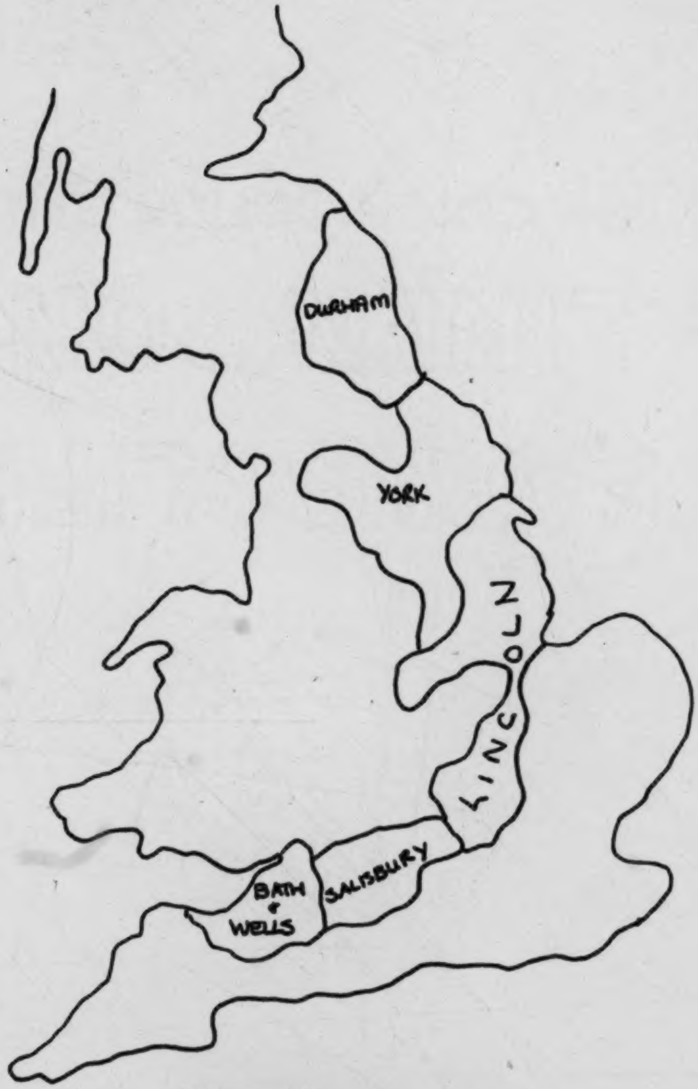
Richard Neile



Advancements:

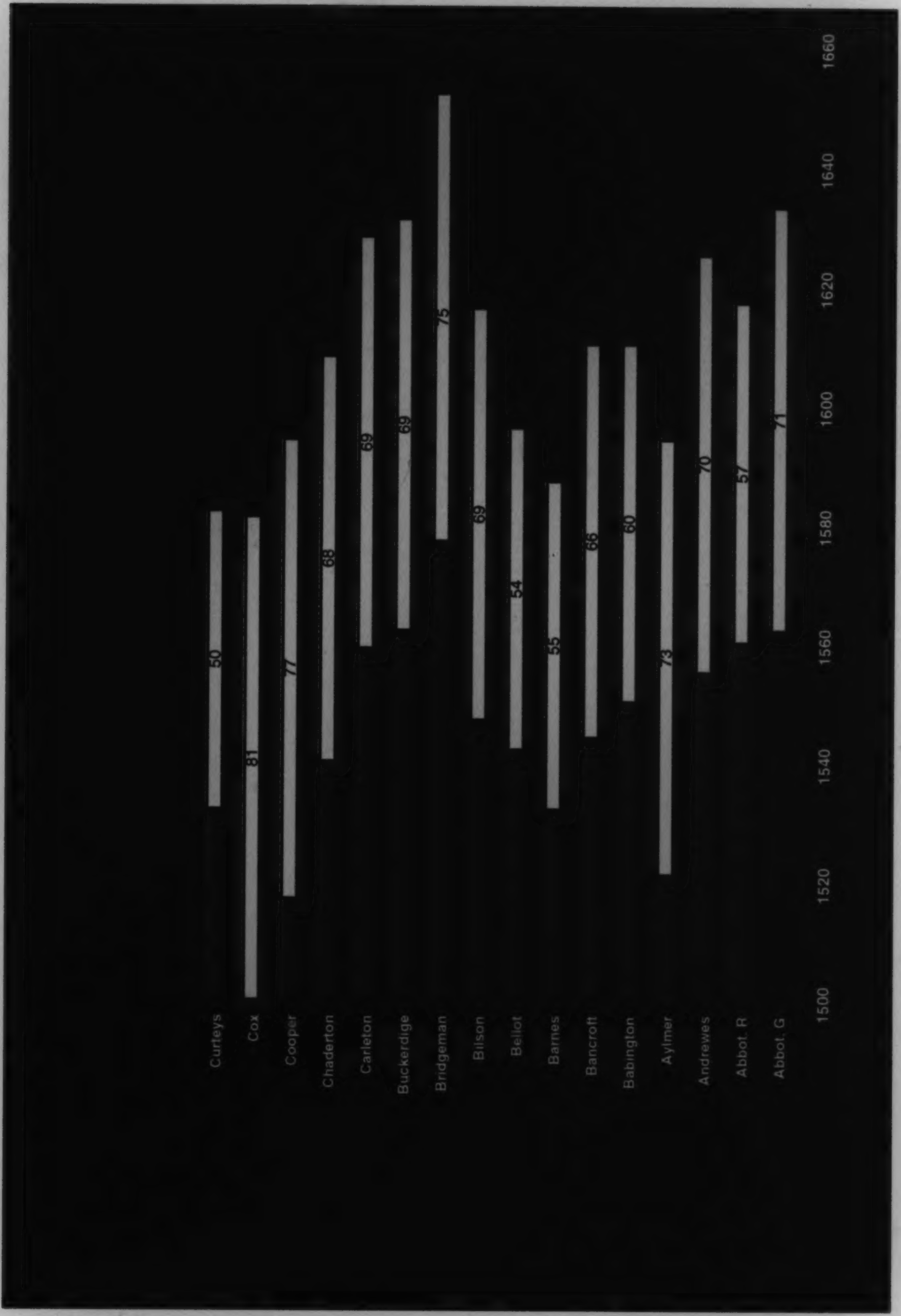
1. 1590 Vicar of Cheshunt, Herts
2. 1598 Rector of Toddington, Beds
3. 1598 Canon of Chichester
4. 1605 Dean of Westminster
5. 1608 Rector of Southfleet, Kent
6. 1608 Bishop of Rochester
7. 1610 Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield
8. 1612 Rector of Stafford
9. 1615 Bishop of Lincoln
10. 1617 Bishop of Durham
11. 1627 Bishop of Winchester
12. 1631 Archbishop of York
13. 1631 Rector of Bishops Waltham, Hants

Tobias Mathew



Advancements:

1. 1570-6 Canon of Christ Church
2. 1571 Rector of Algarkirk, Lincoln
3. 1572 Archdeacon of Bath
4. 1572 Prebend of Teynton Regis in Cathedral of Salisbury
5. 1576 Dean of Christ Church
6. 1583 Dean of Durham
7. 1590 Vicar of Bishops Wearmouth
8. 1592 Bishop of Durham
9. 1606 Archbishop of York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Cooper
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Bridgeman
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Bilson
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Bellot
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Barnes
55
Bancroft
66
Babington
60
Aylmer
73
Andrewes
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Abbot, G
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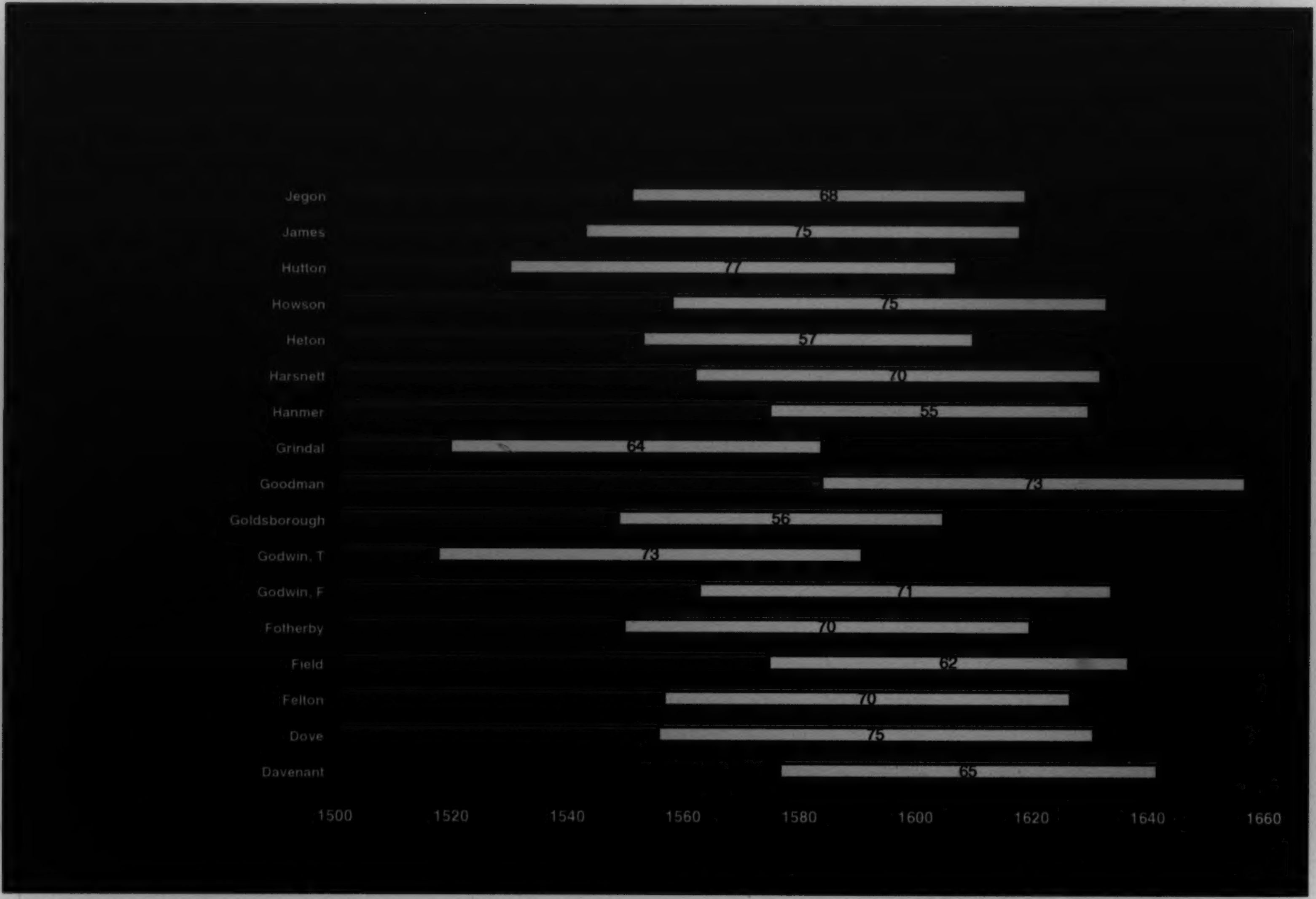
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Goldsborough
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Godwin, T
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Godwin, F
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Fotherby
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Field
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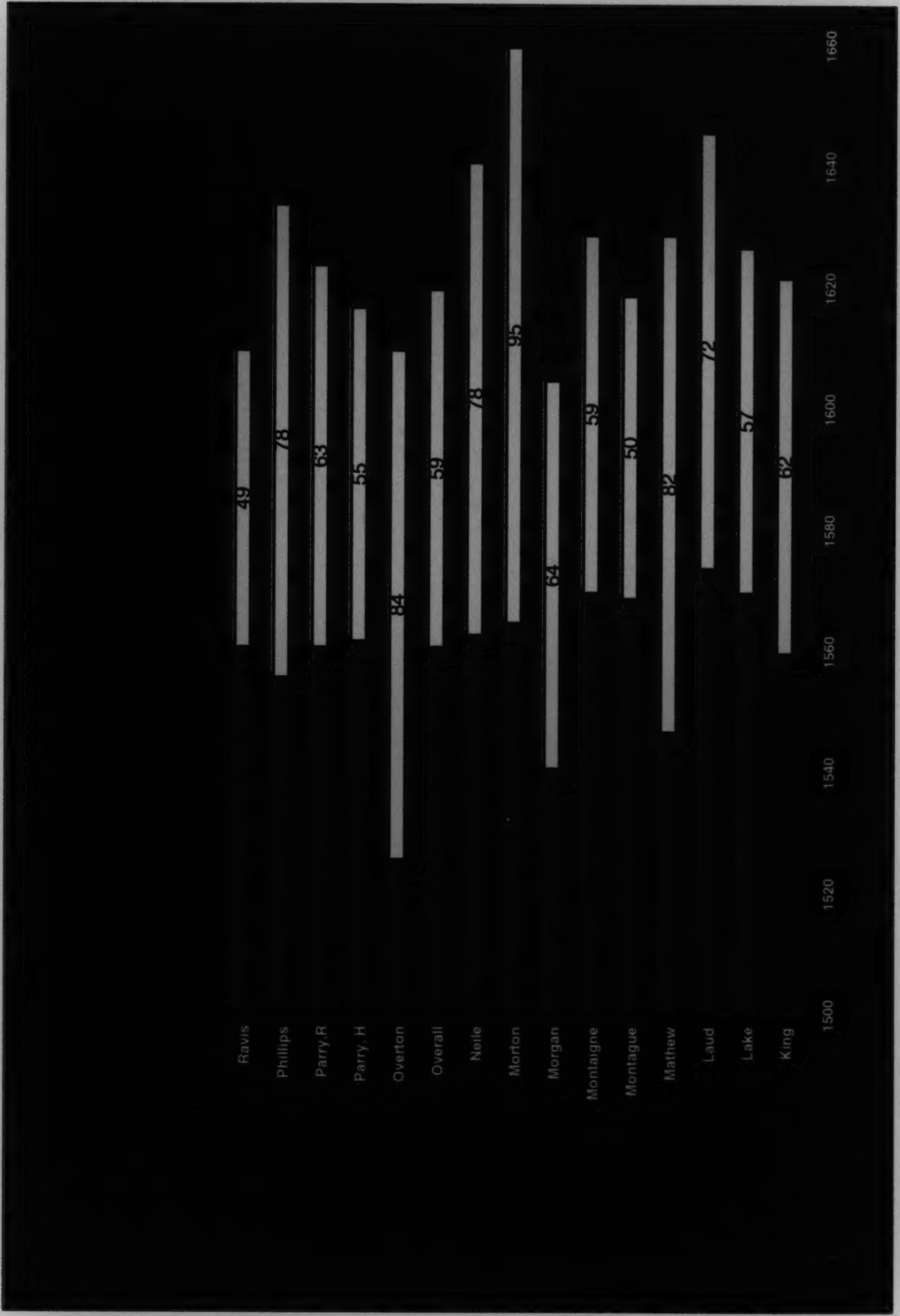
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Montaigne
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Montague
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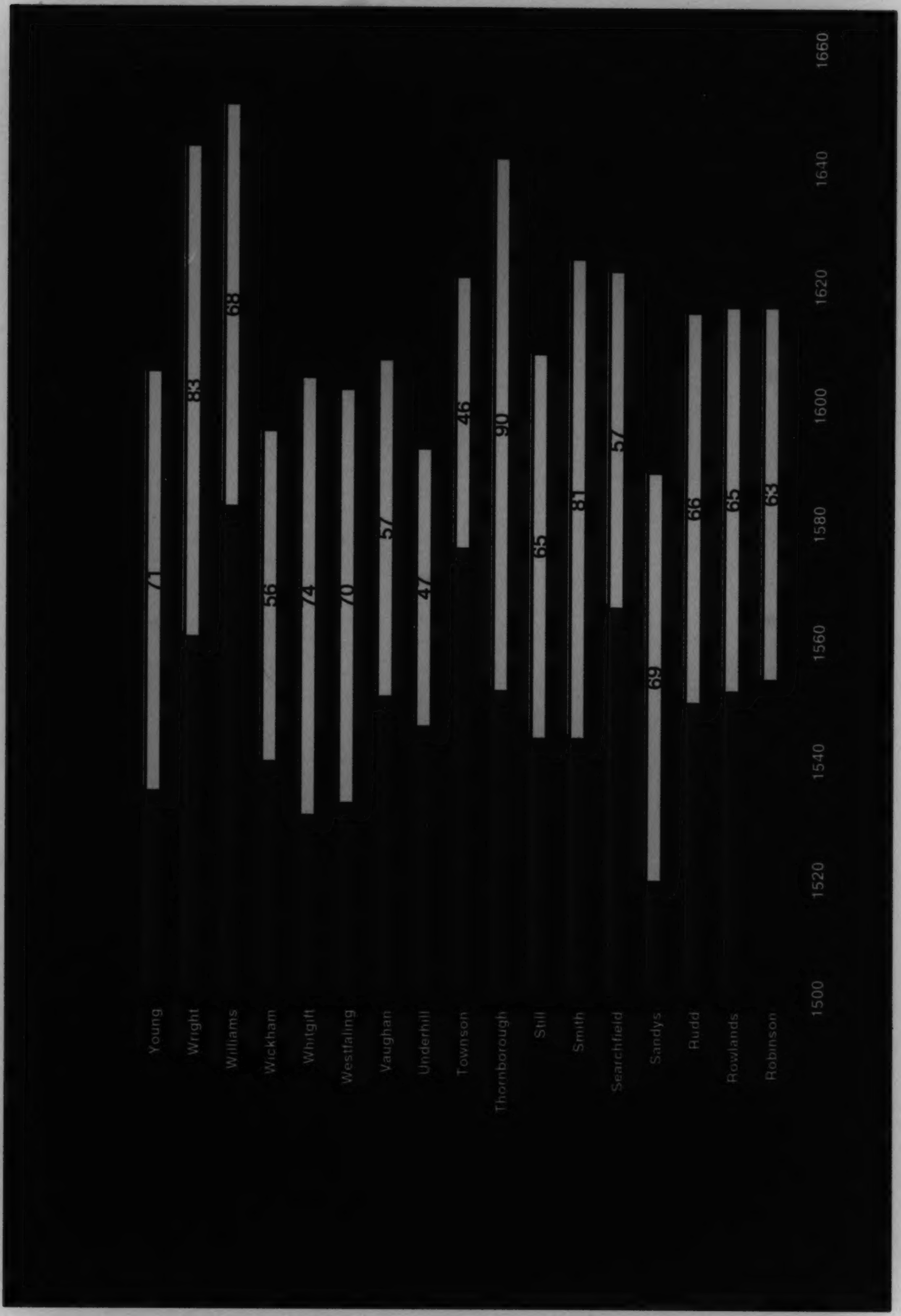
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Townson
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Thornborough
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Still
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Smith
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Searchfield
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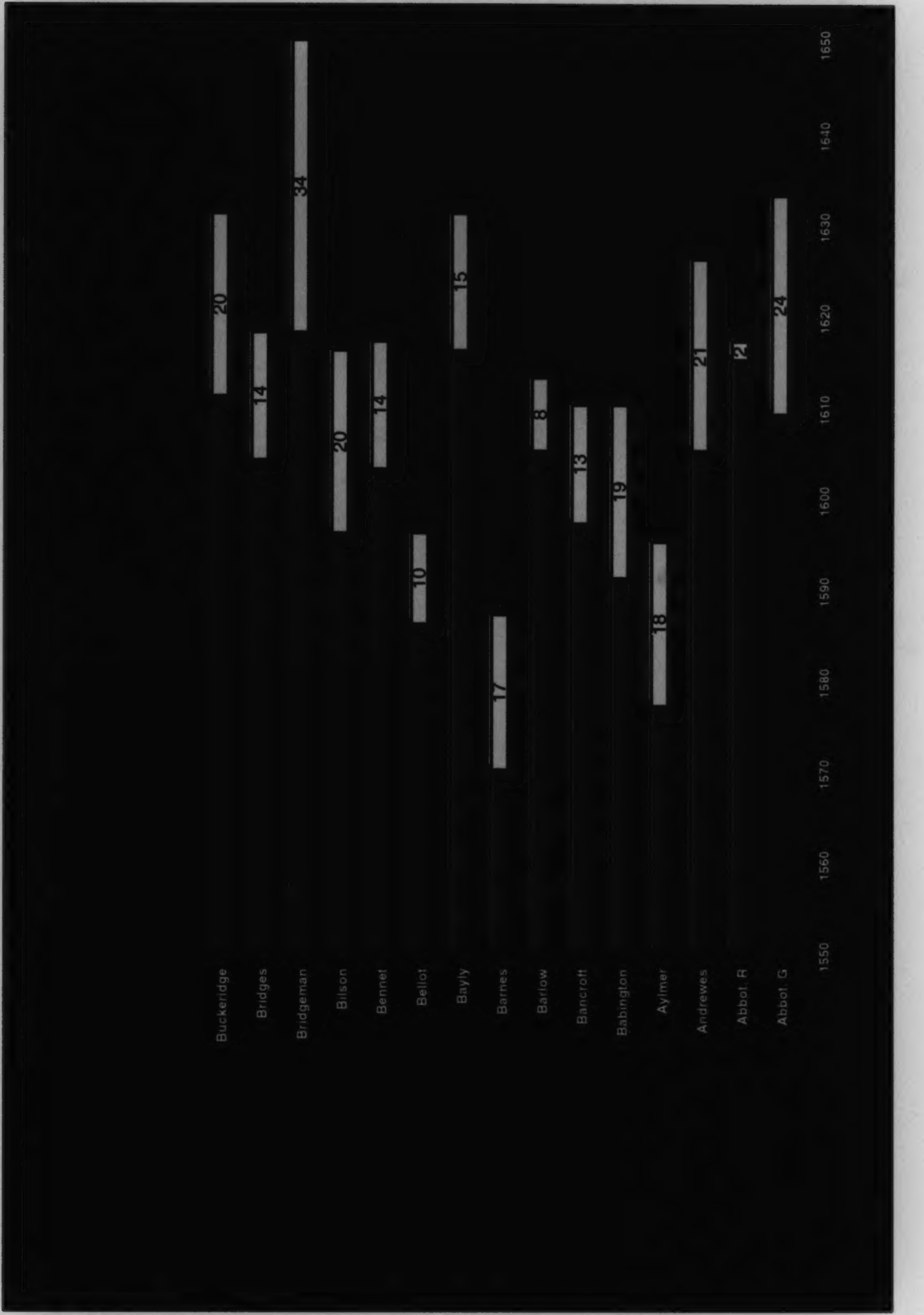
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Barnes
Barlow
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Babington
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Andrewes
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Abbot, G
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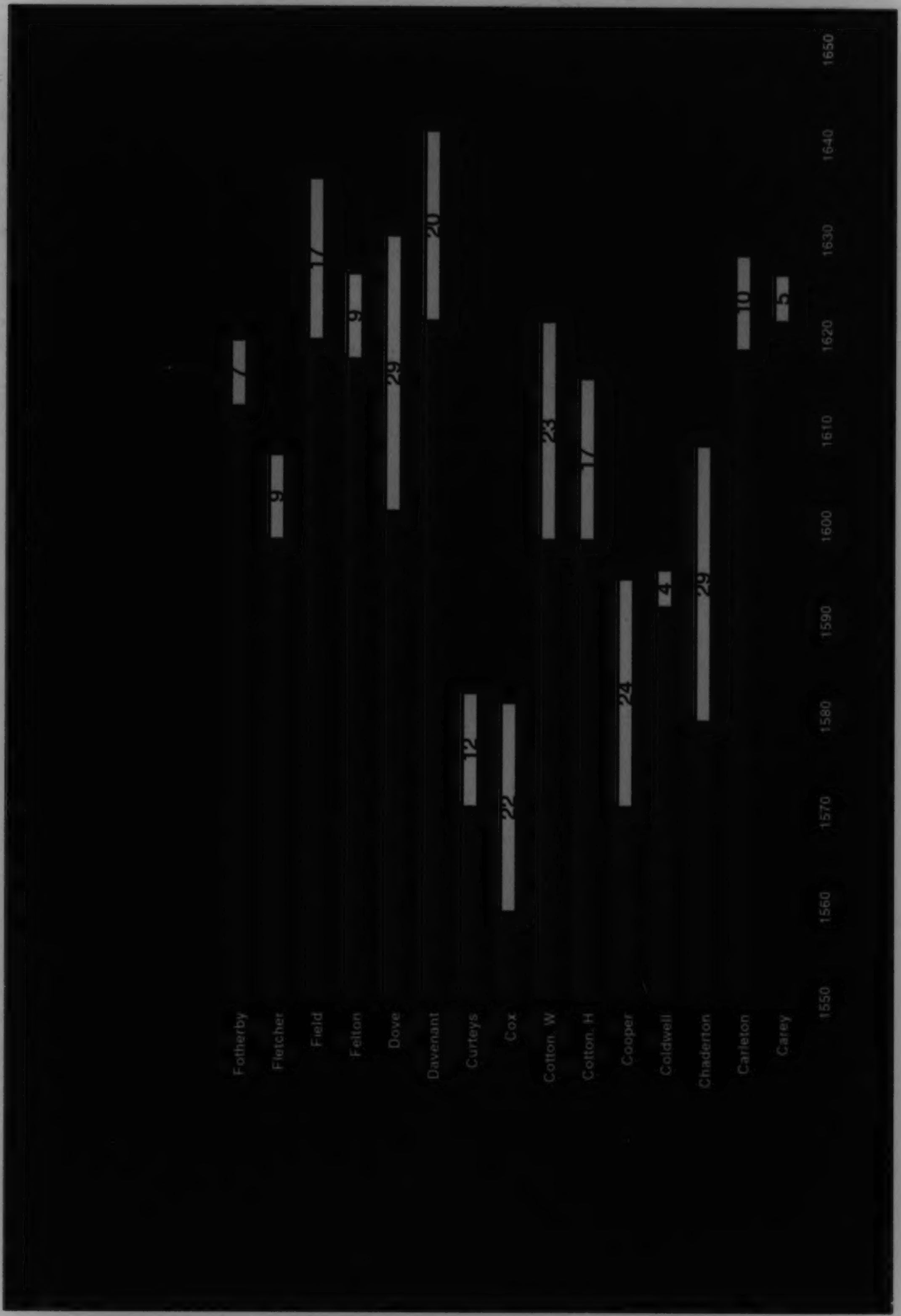
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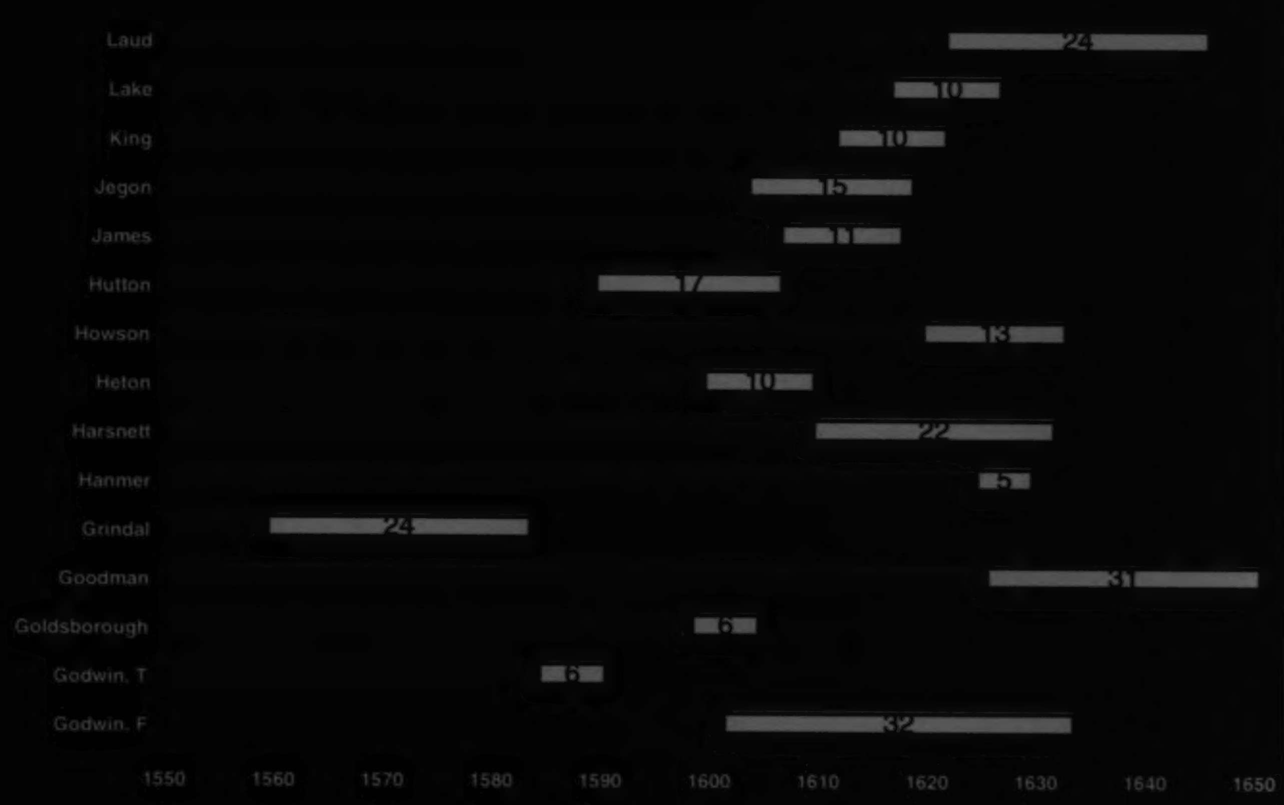
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Goodman
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Goldsborough
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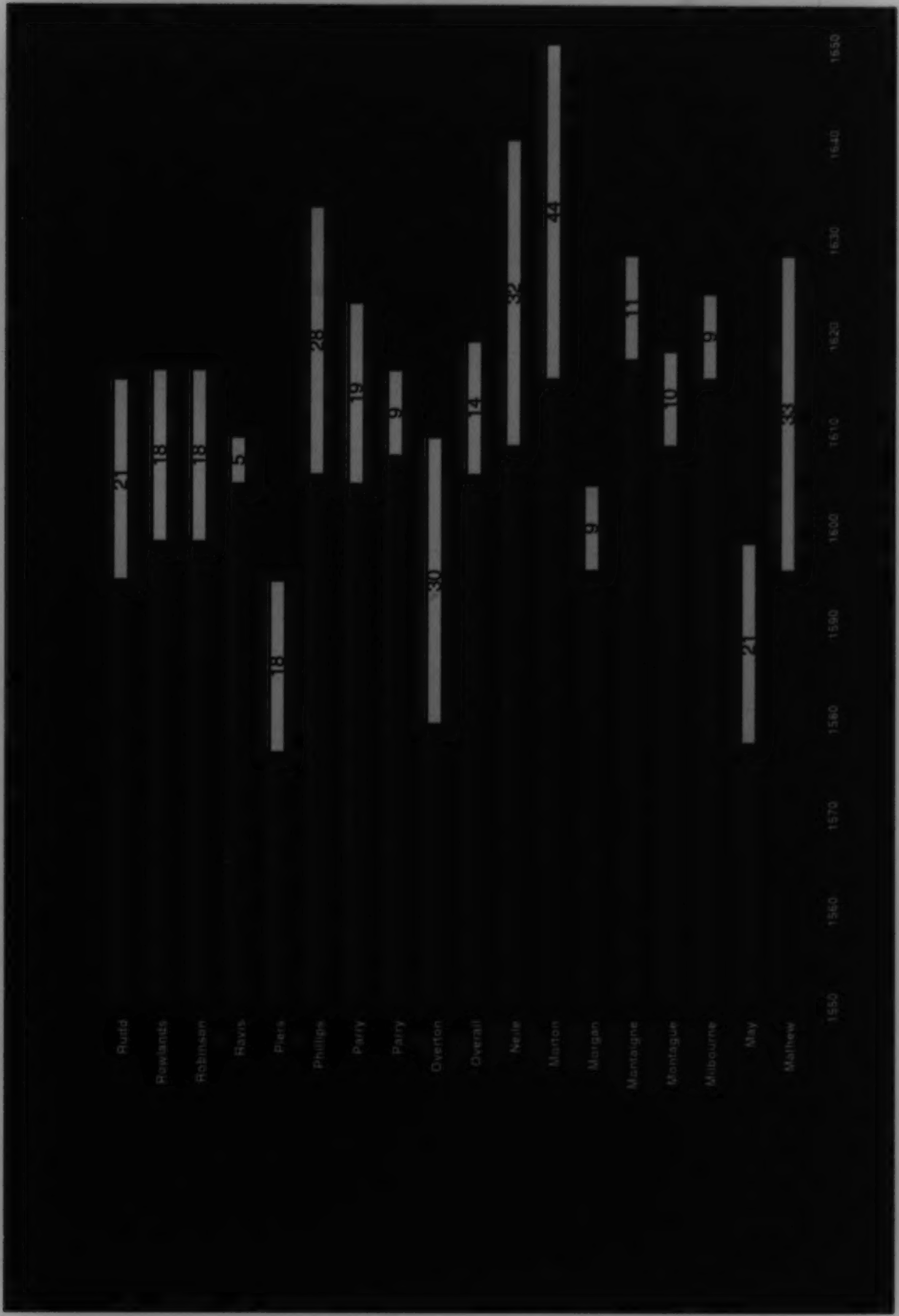
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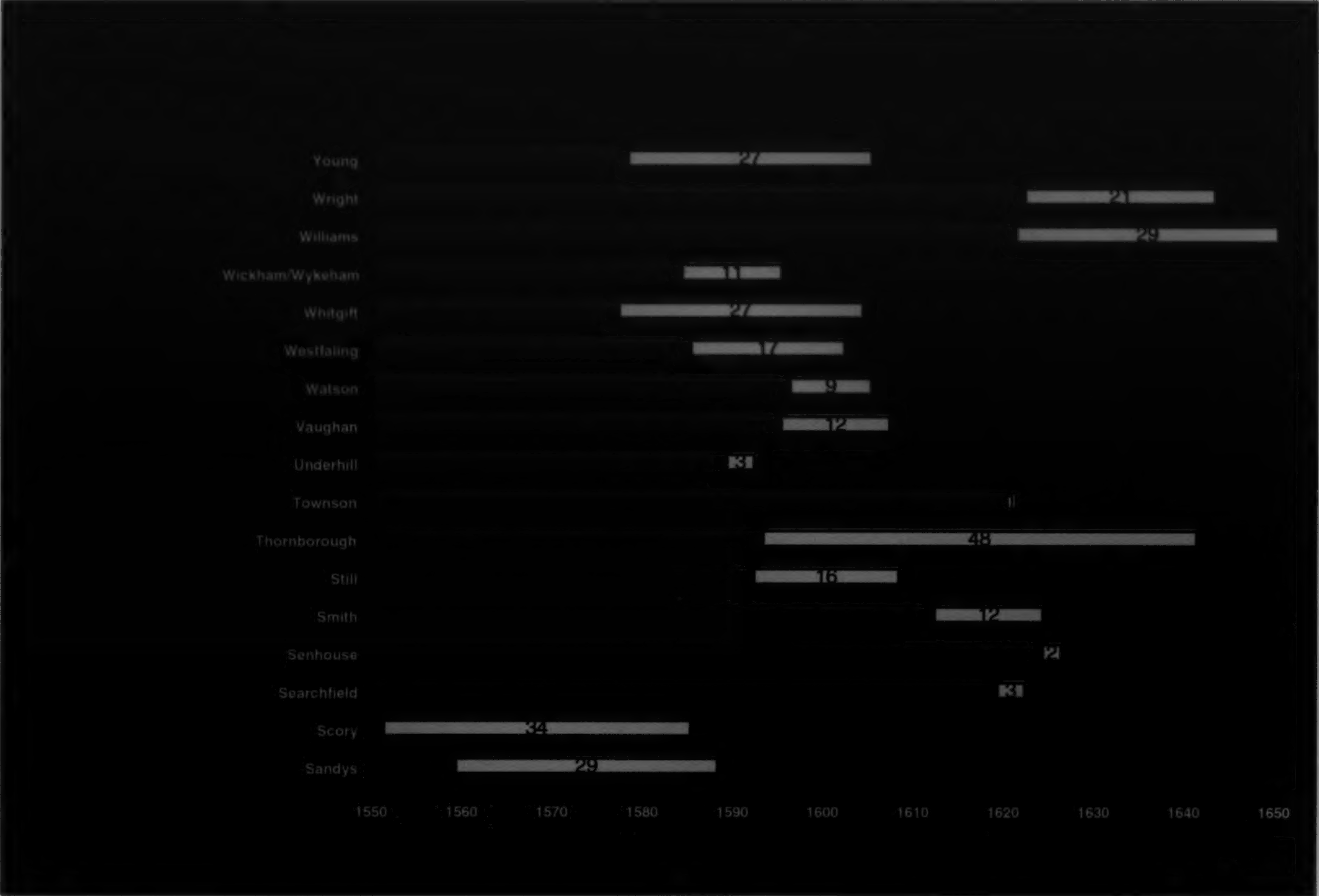
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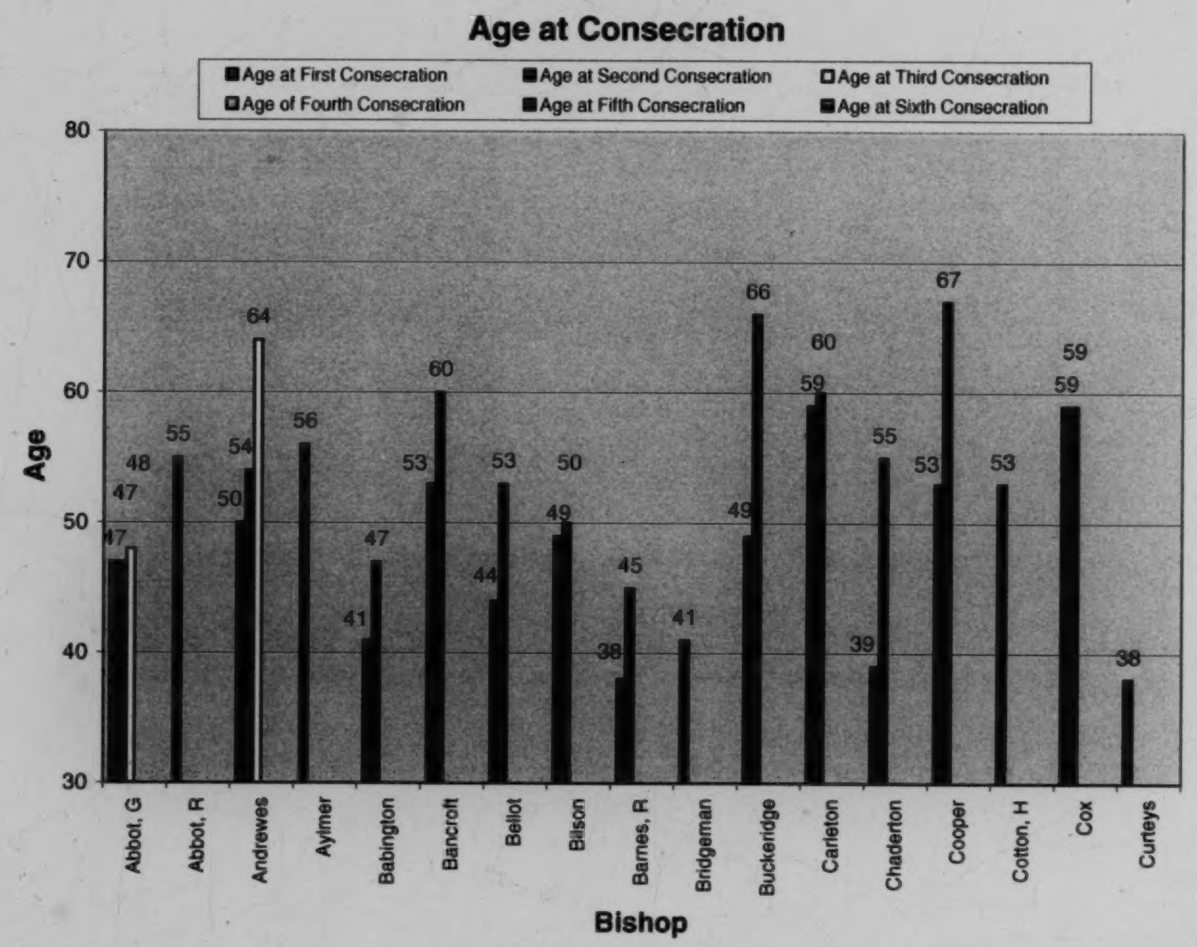
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Age at Third Consecration
Age of Fourth Consecration
Age at Fifth Consecration
Age at Sixth Consecration
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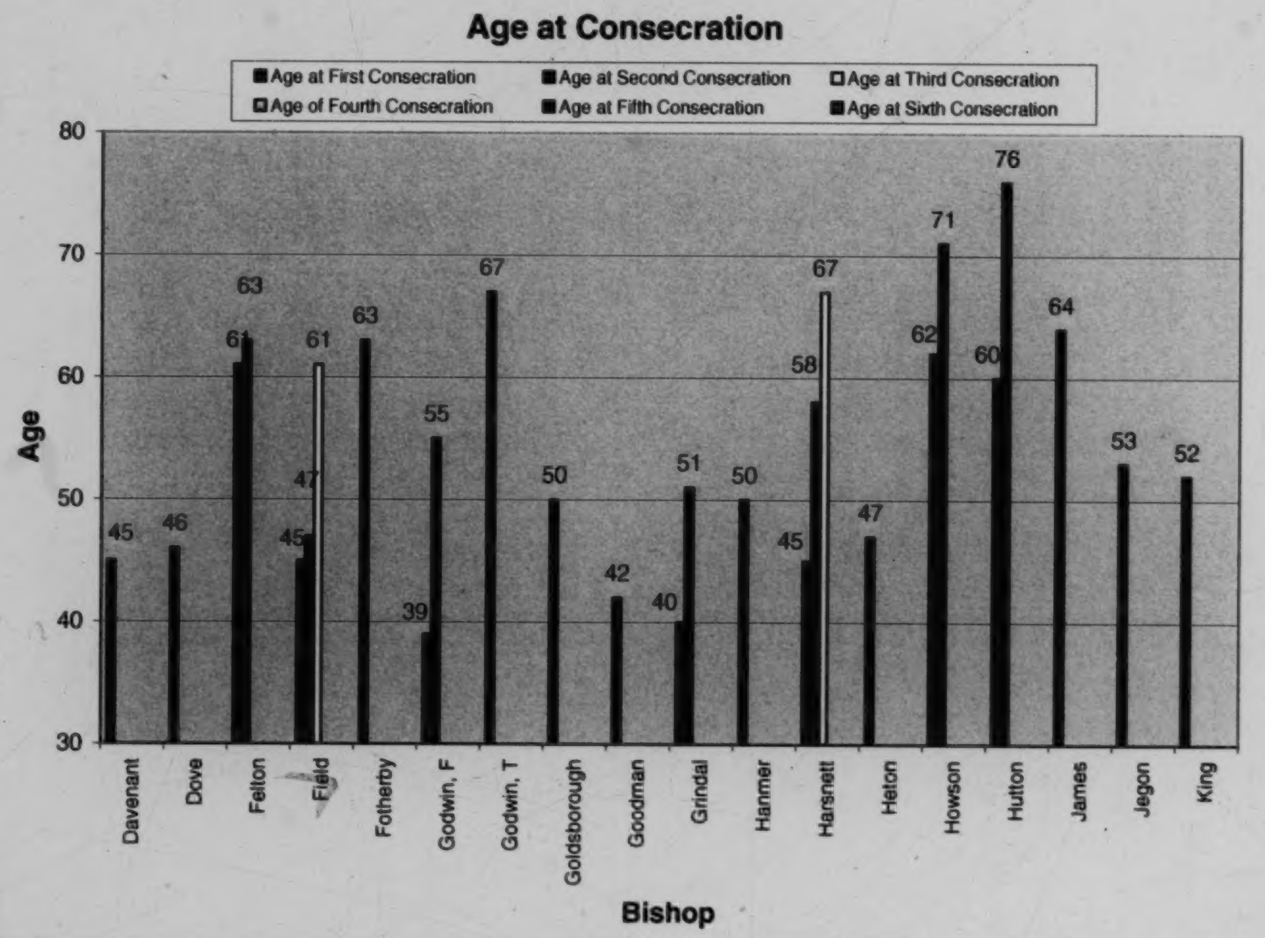
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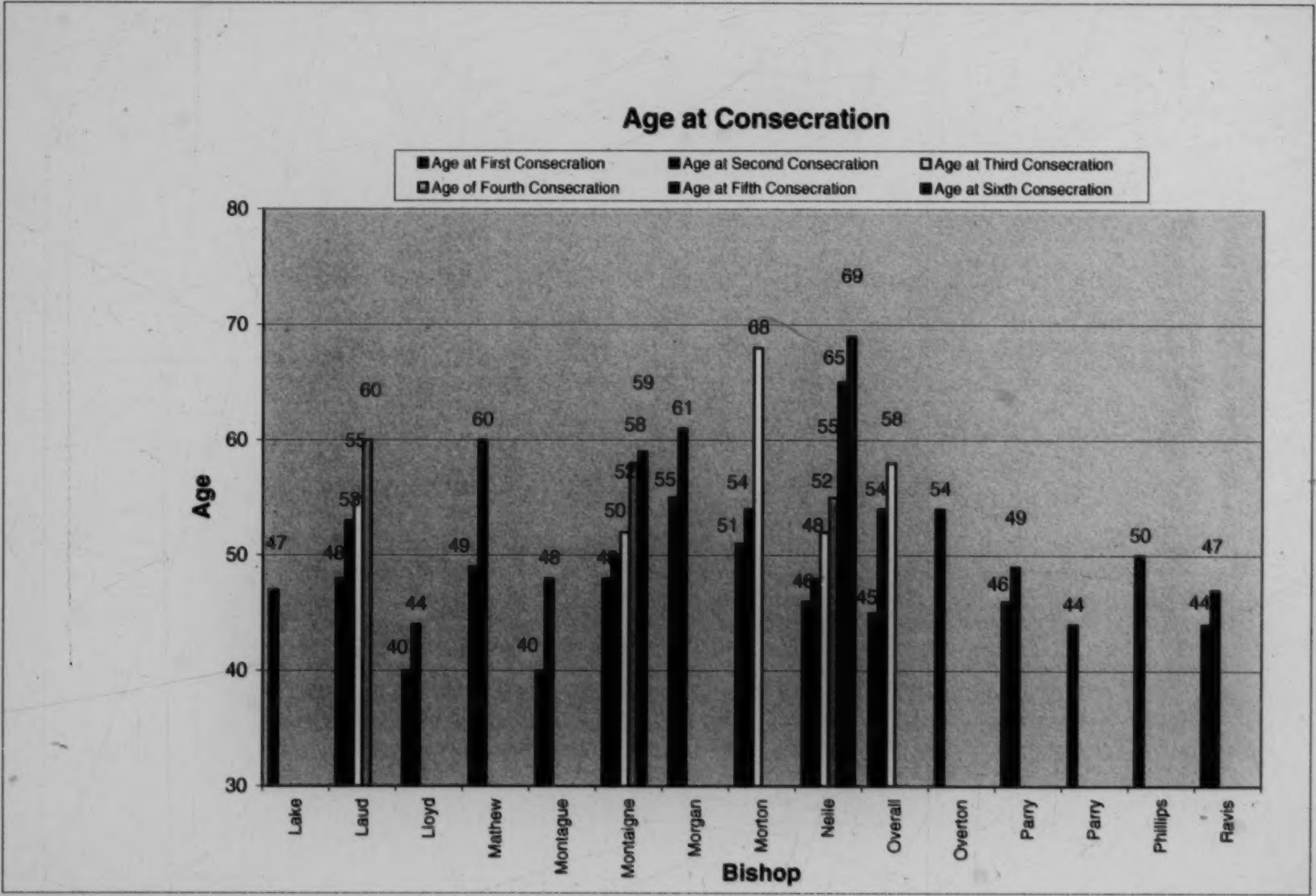
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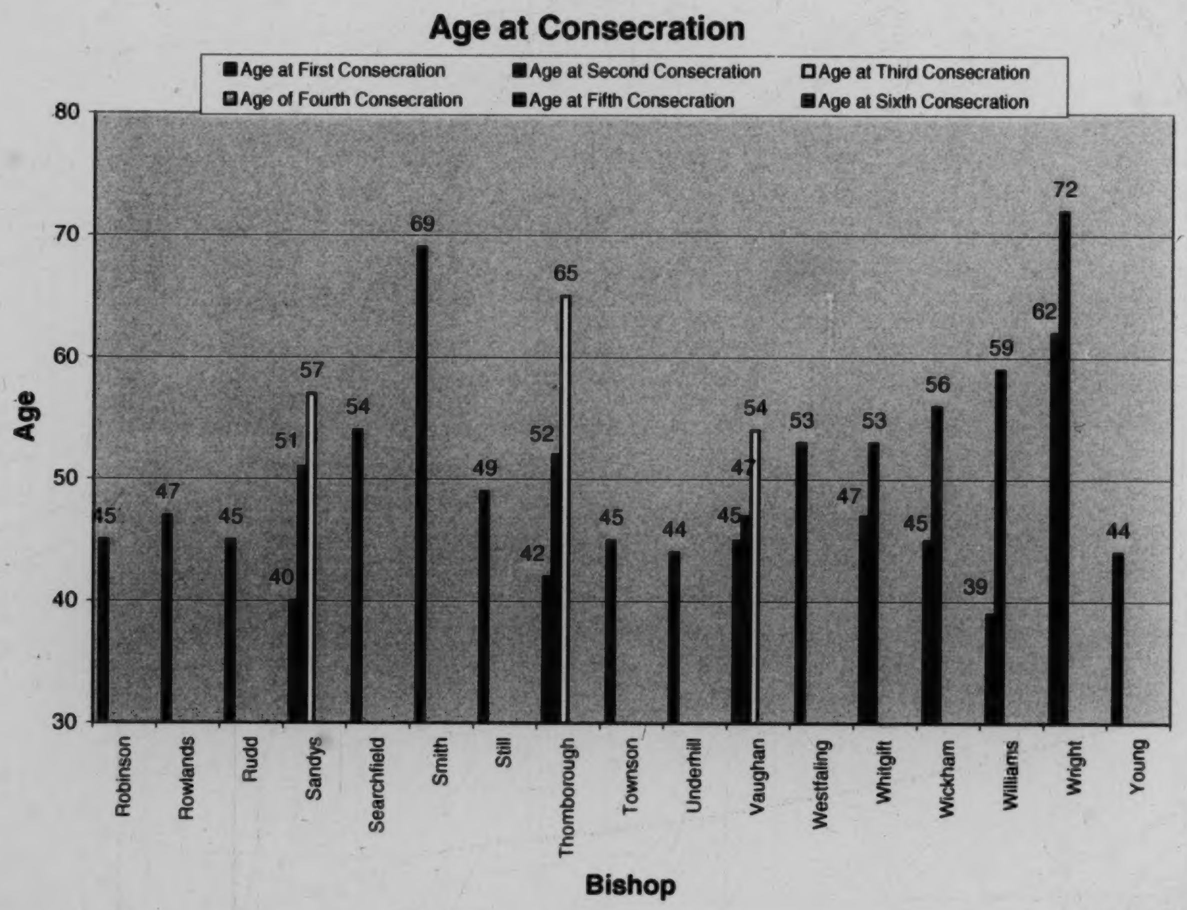
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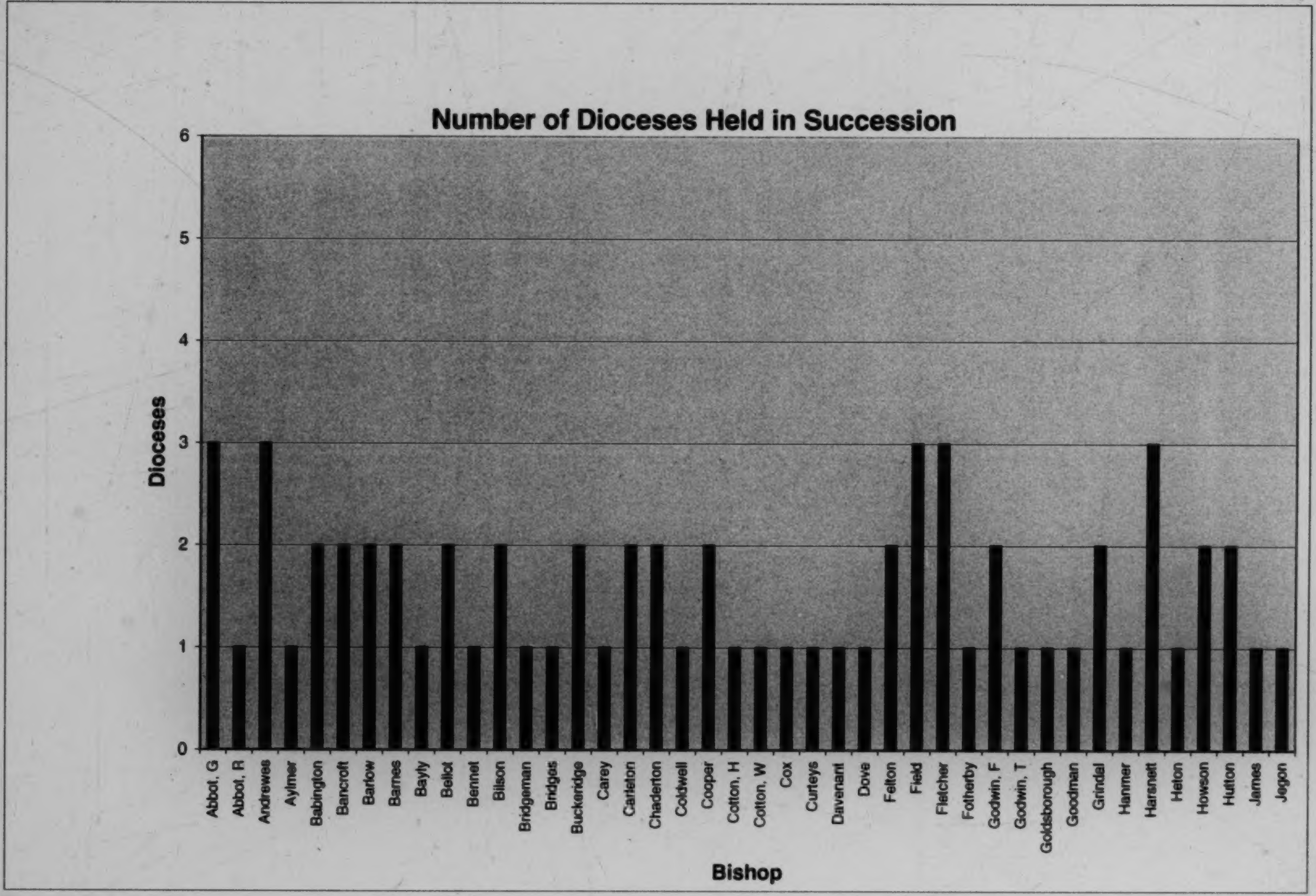
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Bancroft
Barlow
Barnes
Bayly
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Bennet
Bilson
Bridgeman
Bridges
Buckeridge
Carey
Carleton
Chaderton
Coldwell
Cooper
Cotton, H
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Cox
Curteys
Davenant
Dove
Felton
Field
Fletcher
Fotherby
Godwin, F
Godwin, T
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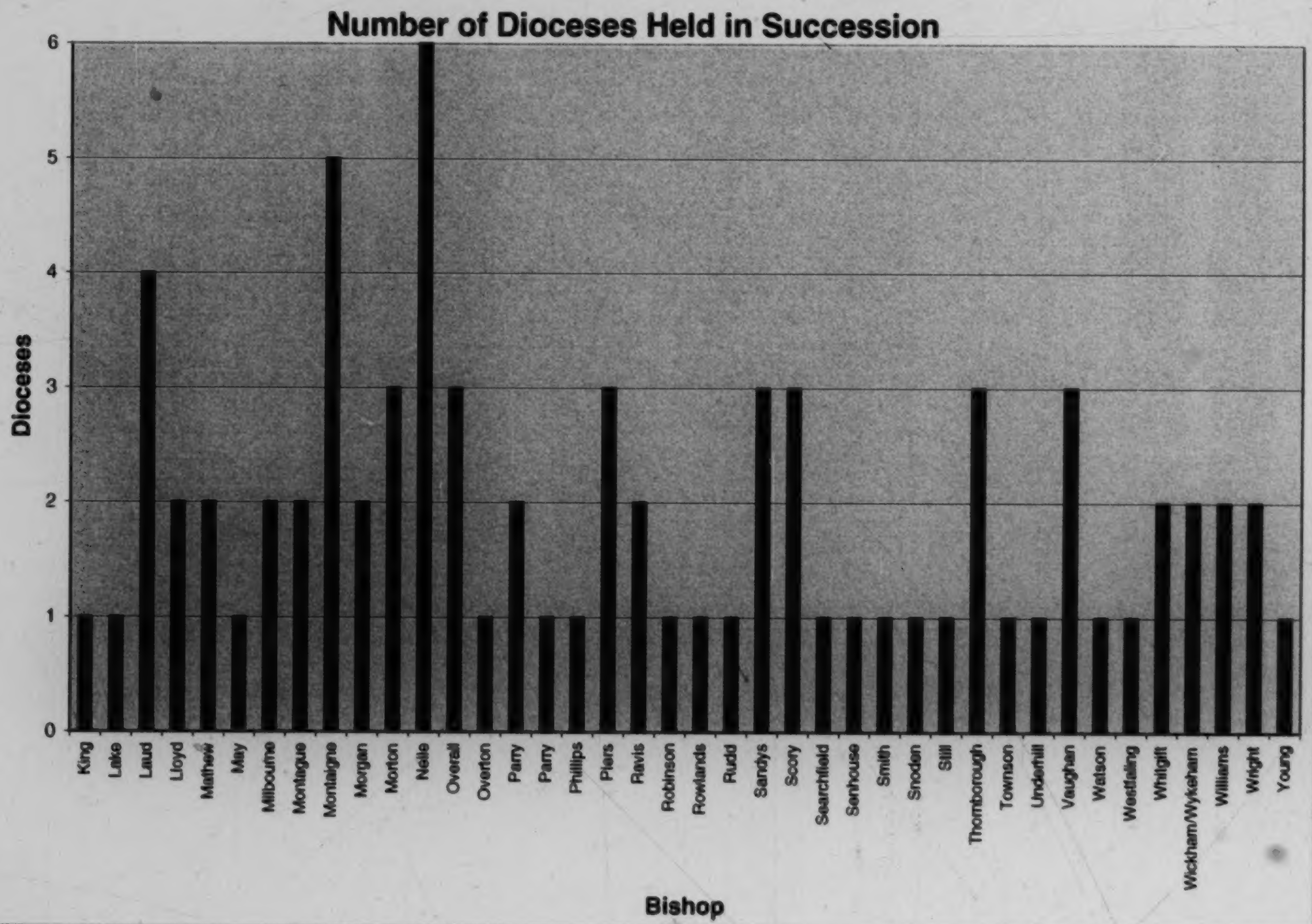
Grindal
Hanmer
Harsnett
Heton
Howson
Hutton
James
Jegon
Bishop


Number of Dioceses Held in Succession
Dioceses
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
King
Lake
Laud
Lloyd
Mathew
May
Milbourne
Montague
Montaigne
Morgan
Morton
Neile
Overall
Overton
Parry
Parry
Phillips
Piers
Ravis
Robinson
Rowlands
Rudd
Sandys
Scory
Searchfield
Senhouse
Smith
Snoden
Still
Thornborough
Townson
Underhill
Vaughan
Watson
Westfaling
Whitgift
Wickham/Wykeham
Williams
Wright
Young
Bishop

APPENDIX III

EDUCATION

The university, college, degrees, and all other information pertaining to the academic career of bishop Robert Snoden is unknown. Blanks that appear in the following Tables is indicative of unknown information or information that does not pertain to a specific bishop.

Bishop John Scory is excluded from Tables II and III as he was educated in a house of Dominicans in Cambridge, rather than a college.

There are several items that must be noted in Table VII. First, in the sources examined, there was no mention of the date in which Lancelot Andrewes received his BD or DD. Second, there was no mention of the date in which Barnes and Bridges received their Bachelor of Divinity. Lastly, it should be noted that Thomas Godwin received his Bachelor of Medicine in 1555. This degree was also obtained by John Coldwell in 1564.

1. Table I Attendance at University 163
2. Table II Bishop College in Cambridge 164
3. Table III Attendance Rate at Cambridge 165
4. Table IV Bishop Attendance at Oxford 166
5. Table V Incorporation of Degree 167
6. Table VI Degree Incorporated 168
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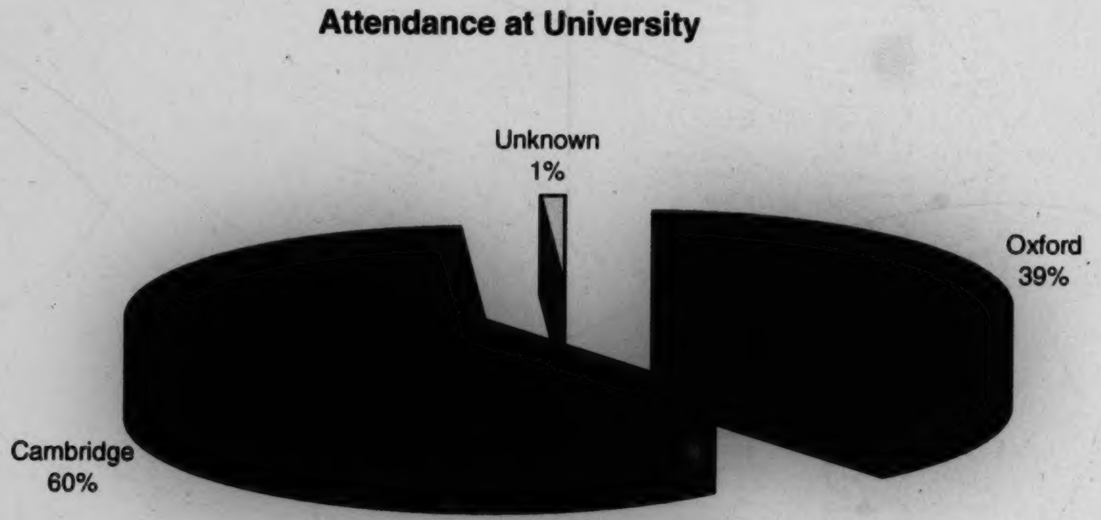
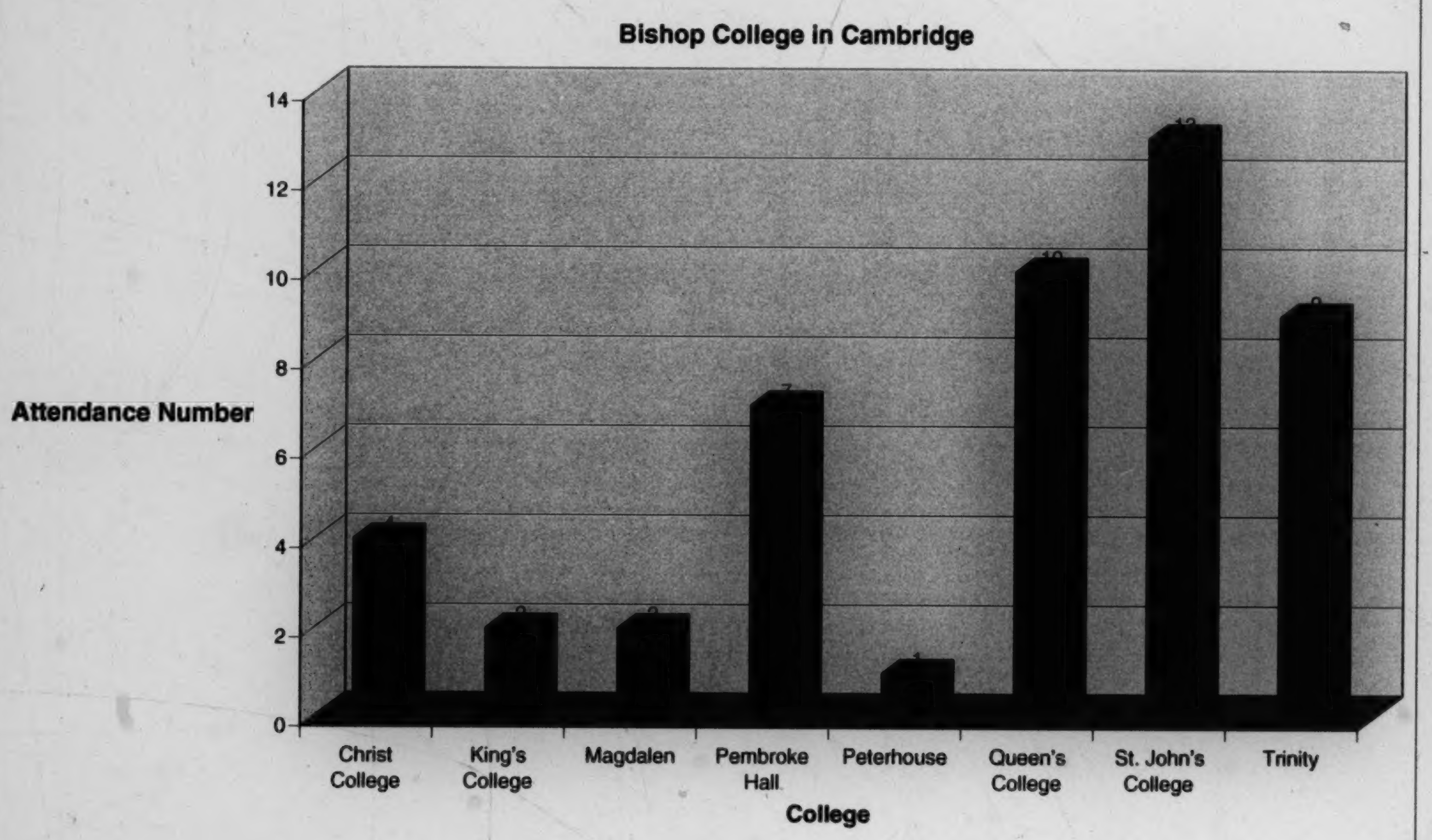
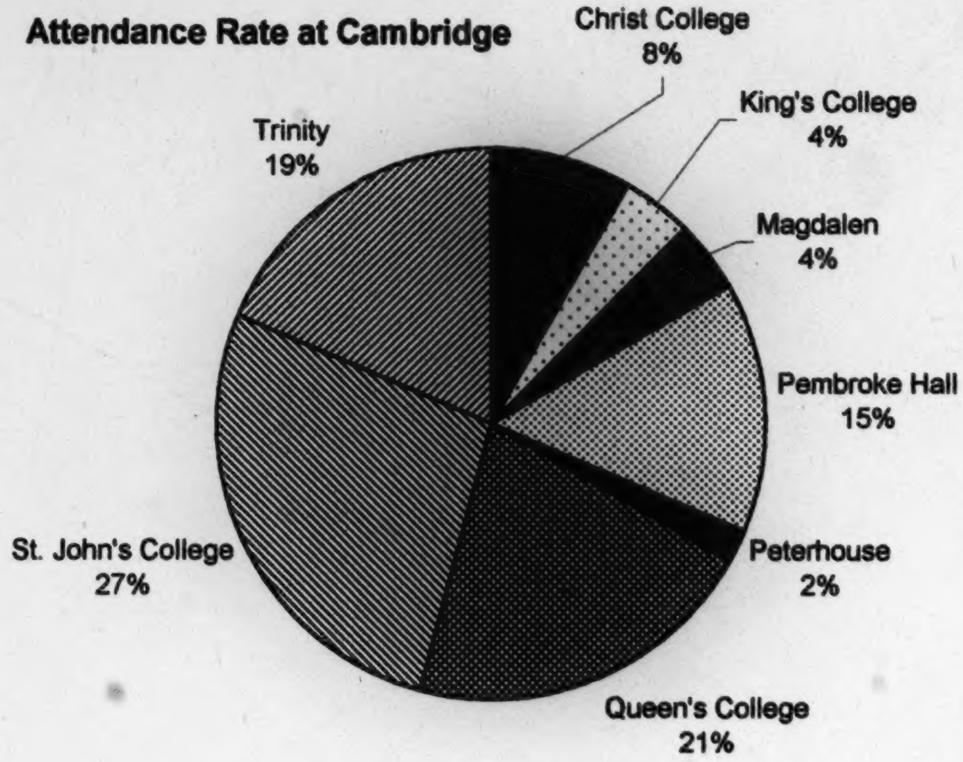
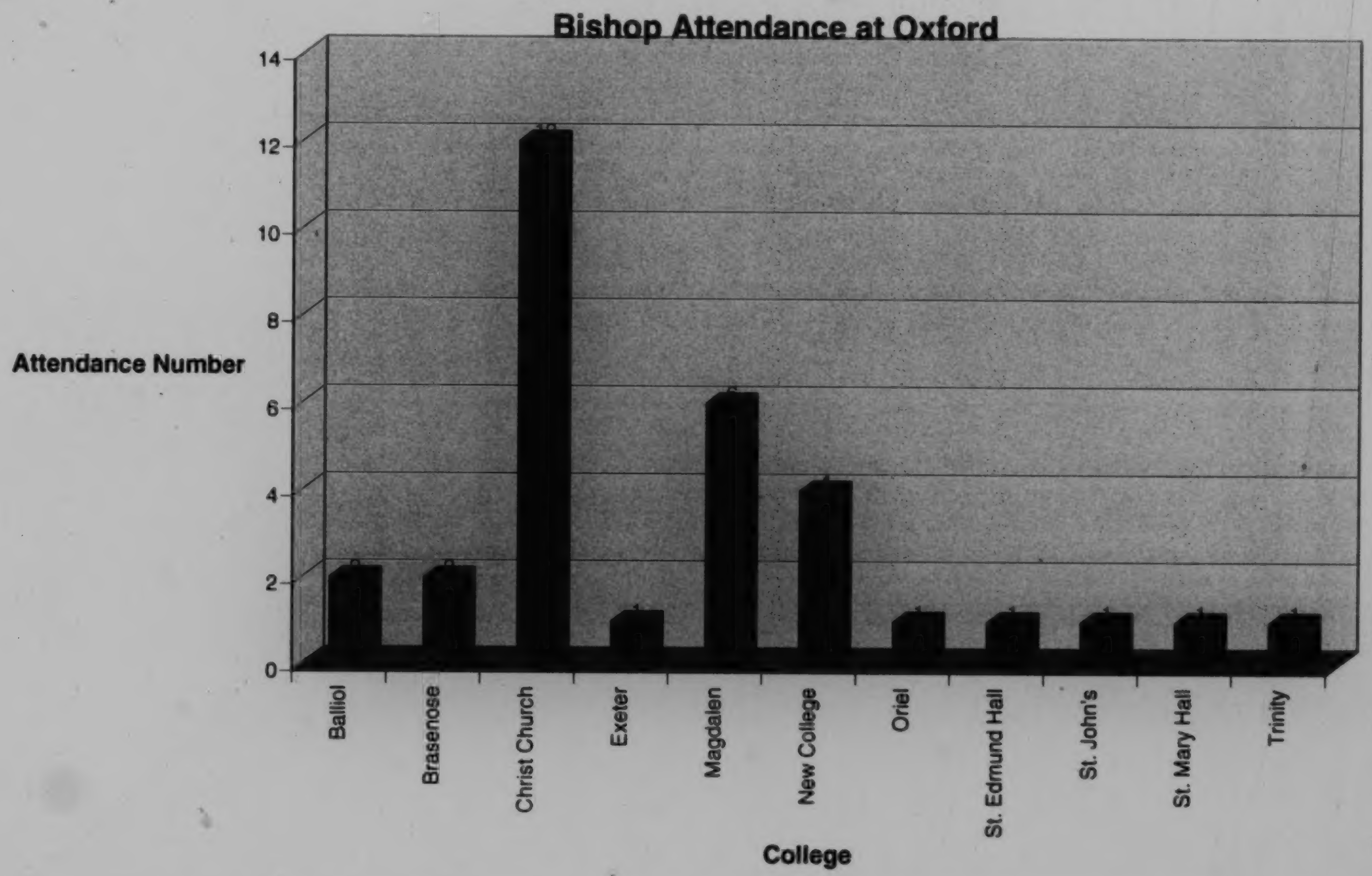
8. Table VIII Number of Years Between DD and Consecration Date 175
9. Table IX University Advancements 177



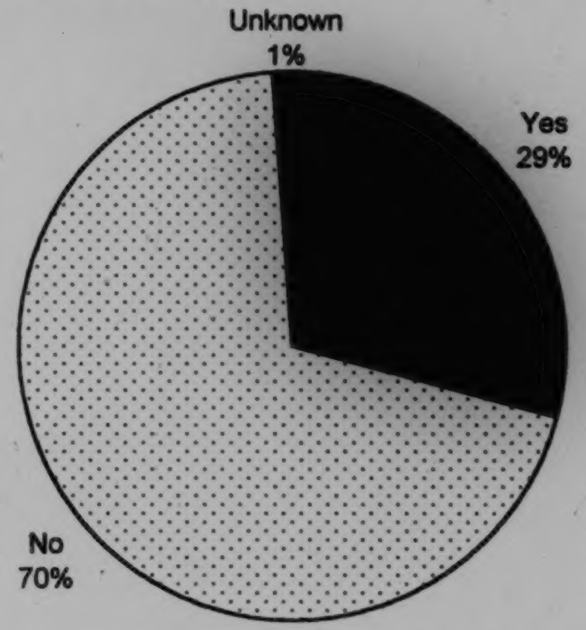
Attendance at University


Bishop College in Cambridge
Attendance Number
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
4
2
2
7
1
10
13
9
Christ College
King's College
Magdalen
Pembroke Hall
Peterhouse
Queen's College
St. John's College
Trinity
College

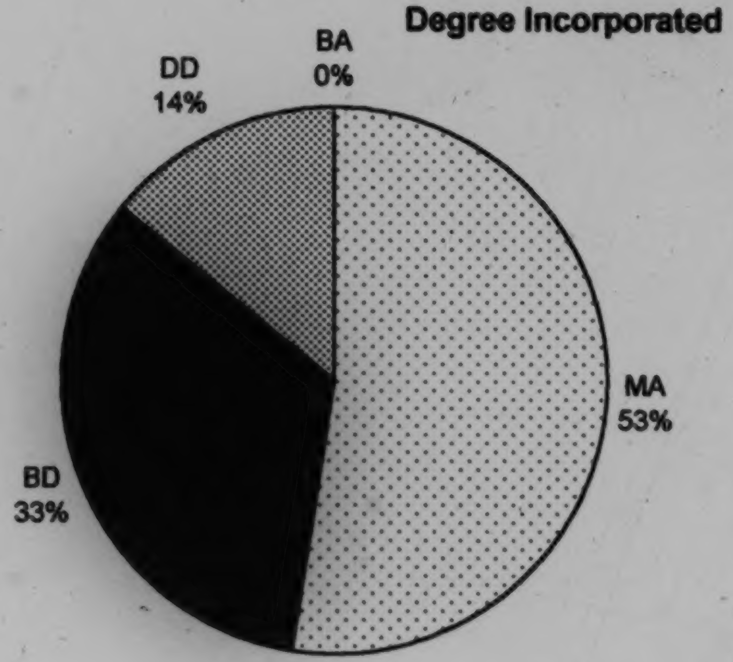

Attendance Rate at Cambridge
Christ College 8%
King's College 4%
Magdalen 4%
Pembroke Hall 15%
Peterhouse 2%
Queen's College 21%
St. John's College 27%
Trinity 19%



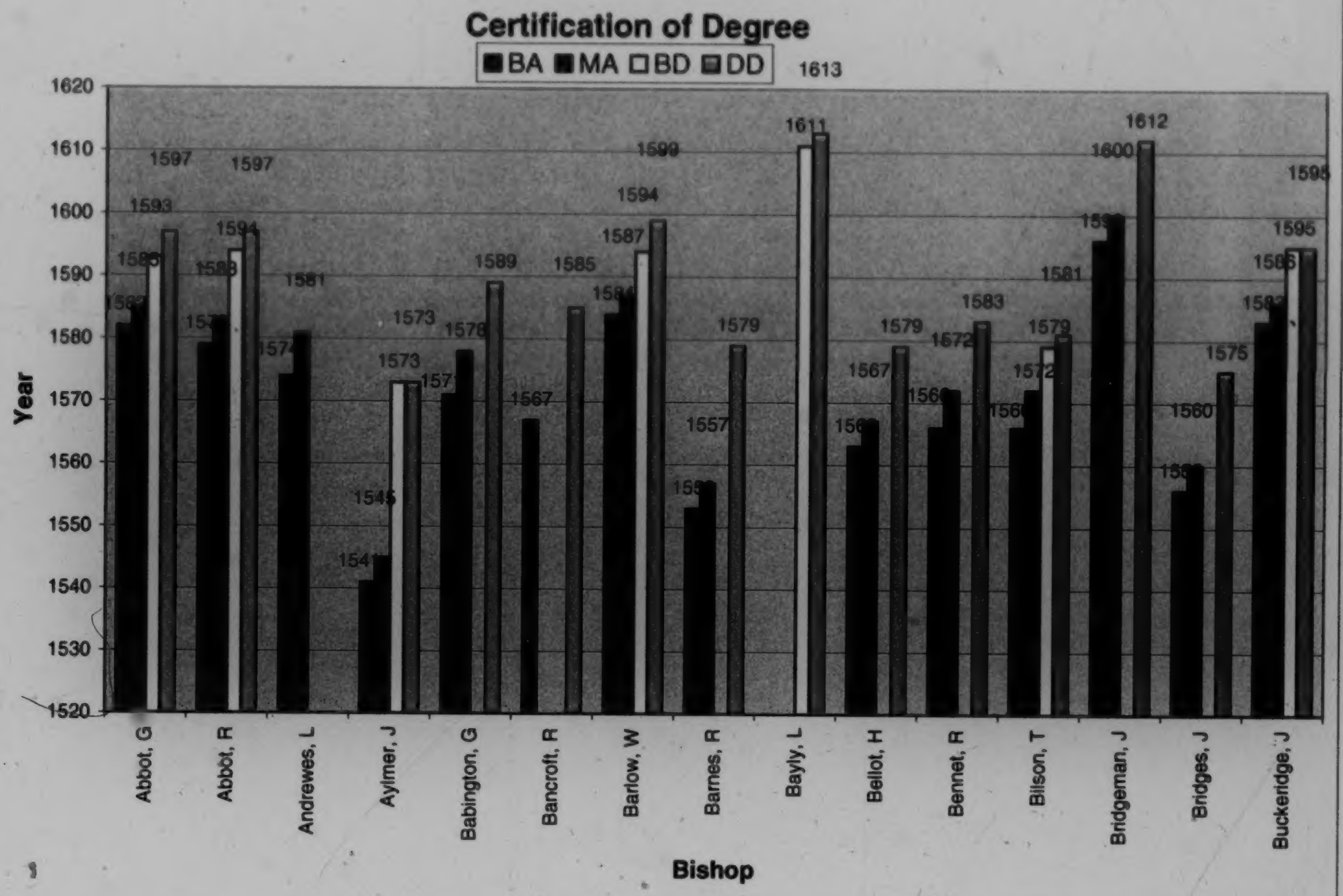
Bishop Attendance at Oxford



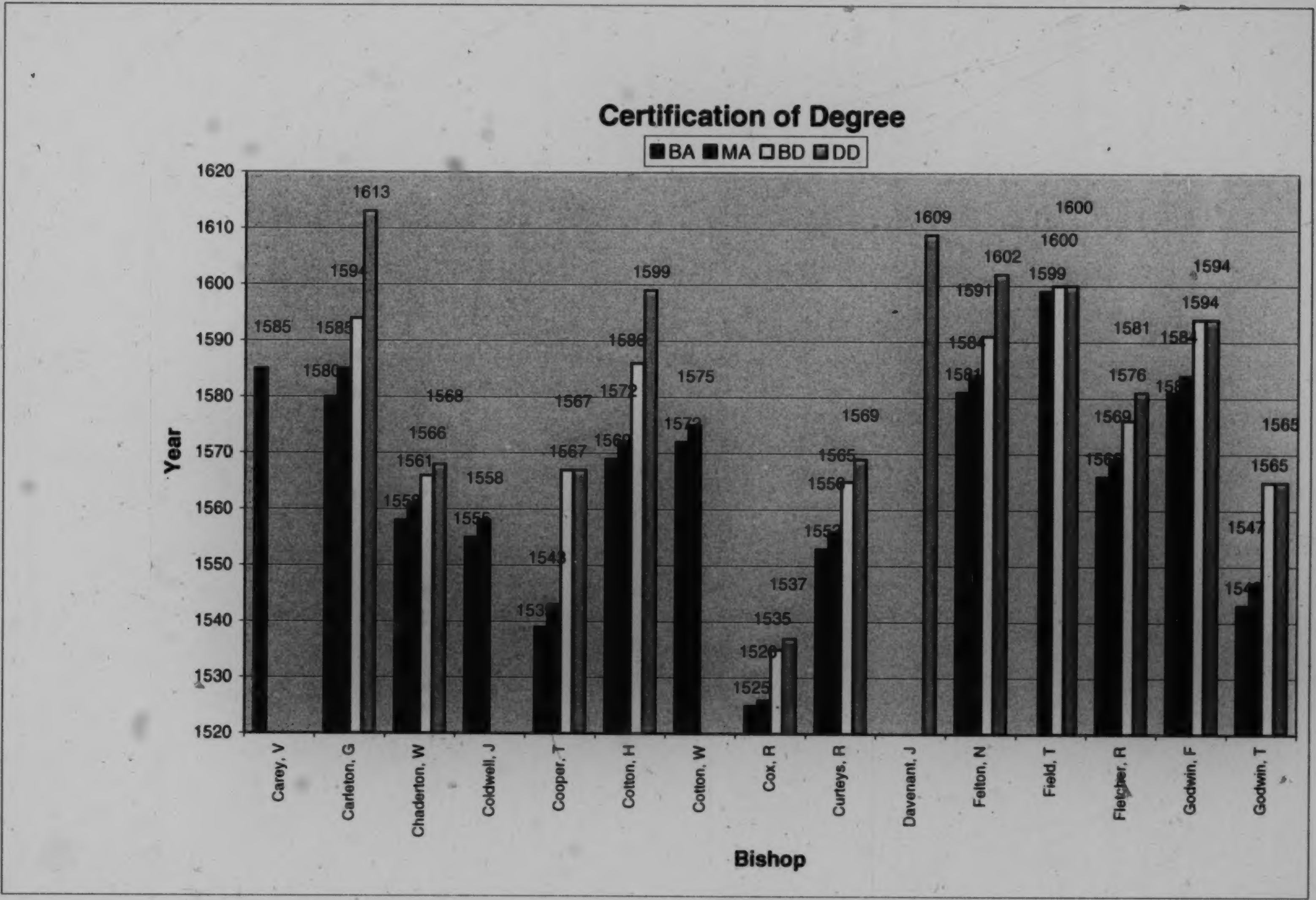
Incorporation of Degree

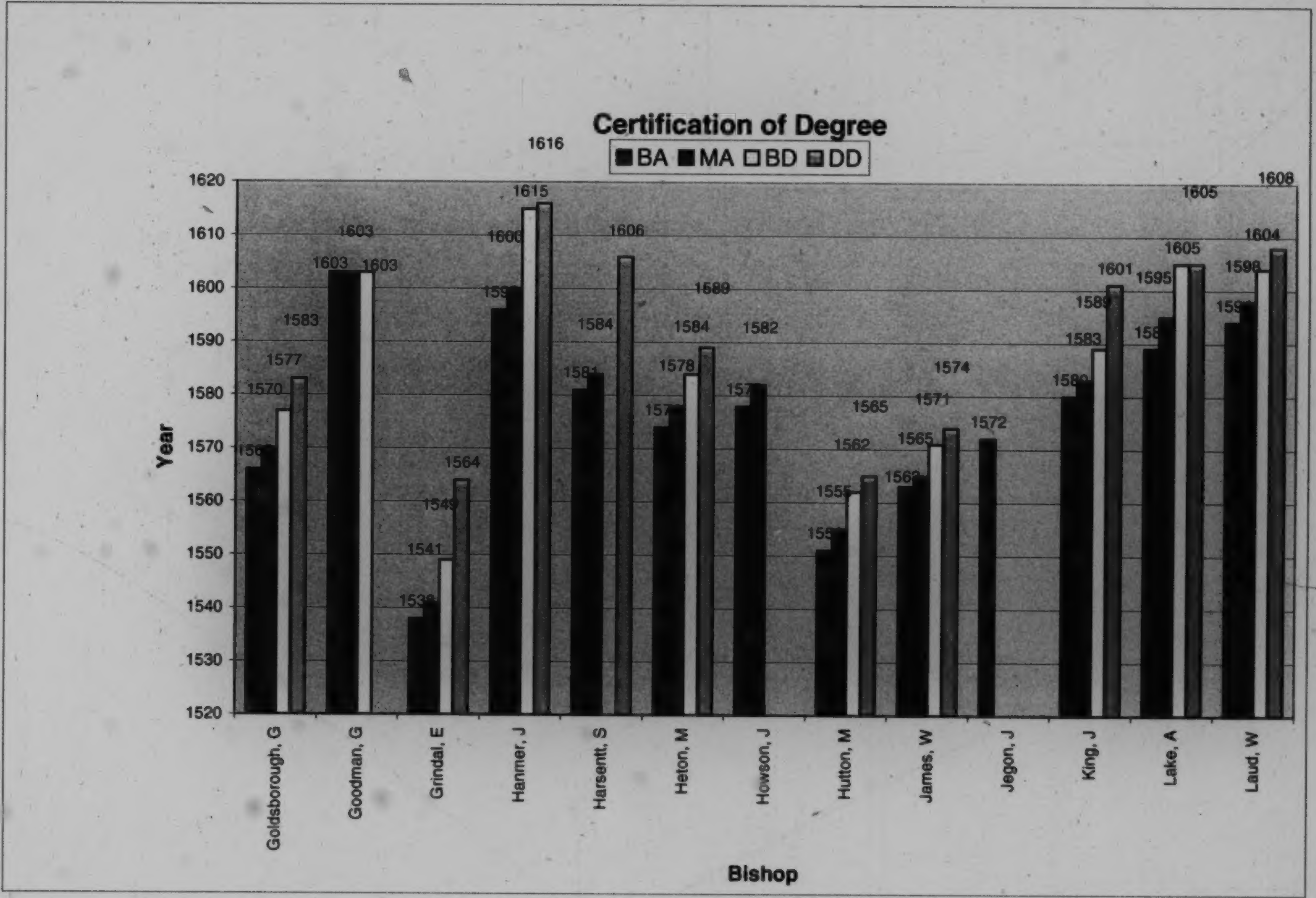


Degree Incorporated

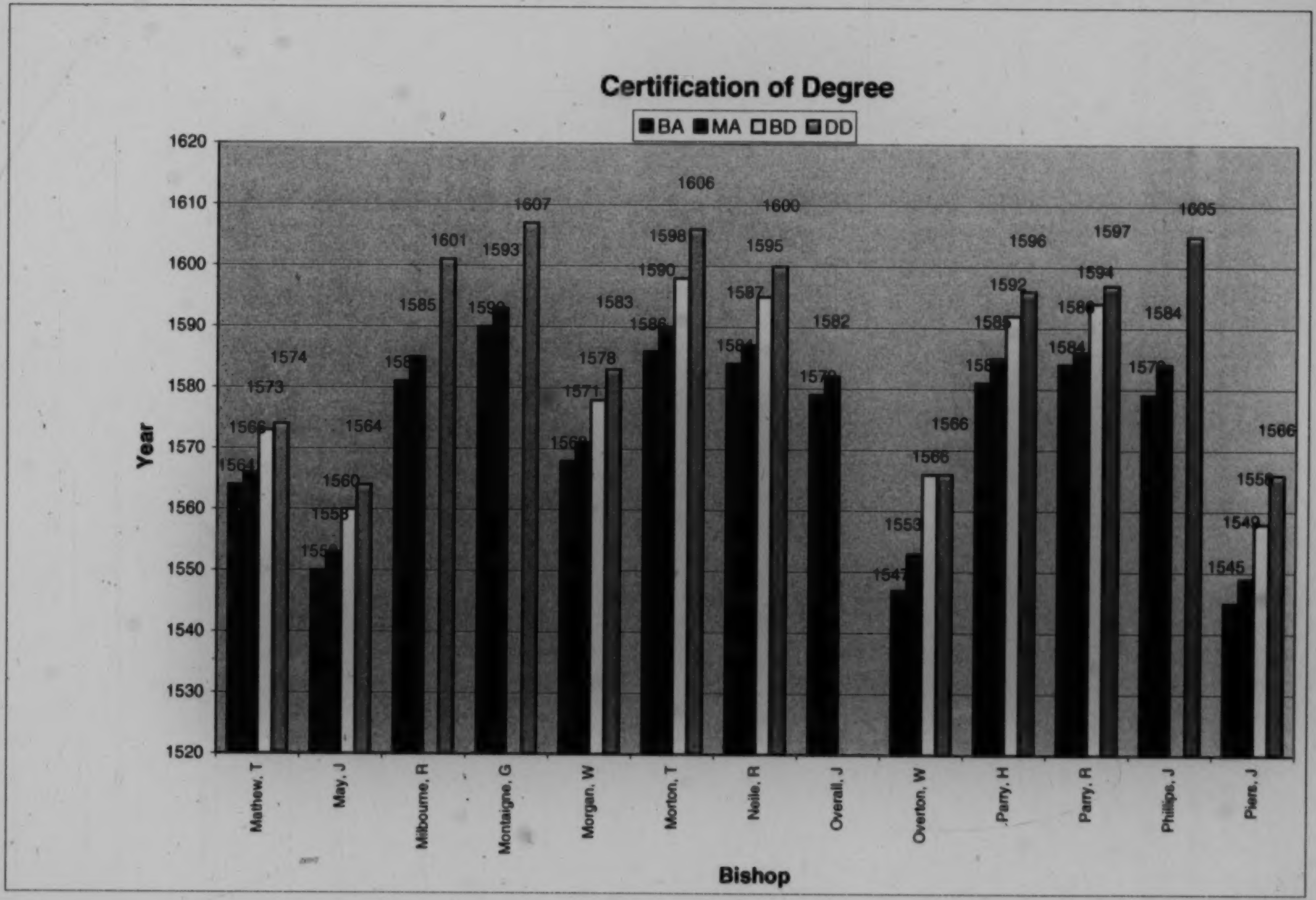


Certification of Degree

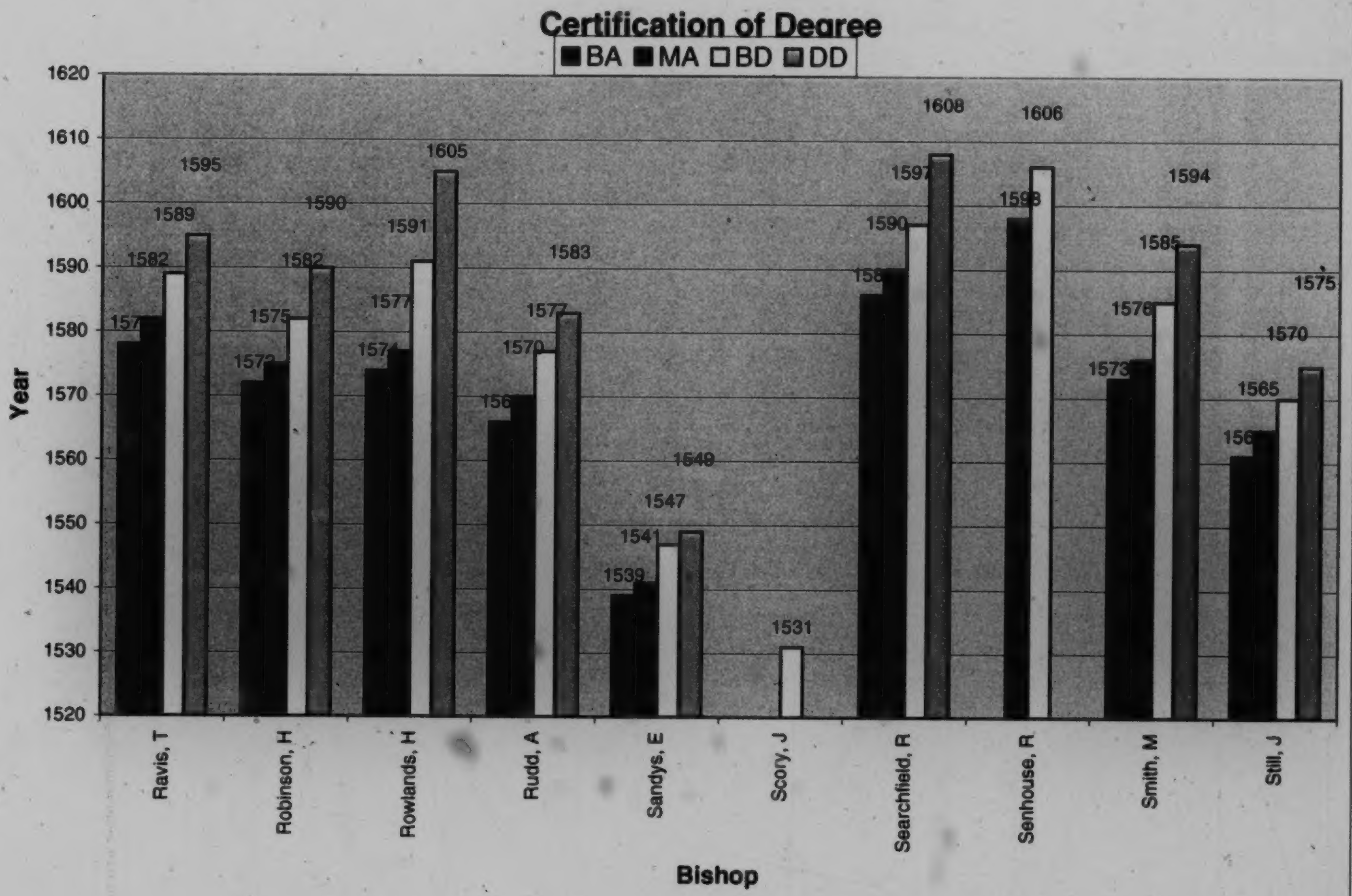

Certification of Degree
BA MA BD DD
Year
1620
1610
1600
1590
1580
1570
1560
1550
1540
1530
1520
Bishop
Carey, V
Carleton, G
Chaderton, W
Coldwell, J
Cooper, T
Cotton, H
Cotton, W
Cox, R
Curteys, R
Davenant, J
Felton, N
Field, T
Fletcher, R
Godwin, F
Godwin, T
1585
1580
1585
1594
1613
1561
1566
1568
1558
1567
1567
1543
1572
1586
1599
1575
1525
1526
1535
1537
1556
1565
1569
1609
1581
1584
1591
1602
1599
1600
1600
1569
1576
1581
1584
1594
1594
1547
1565
1565

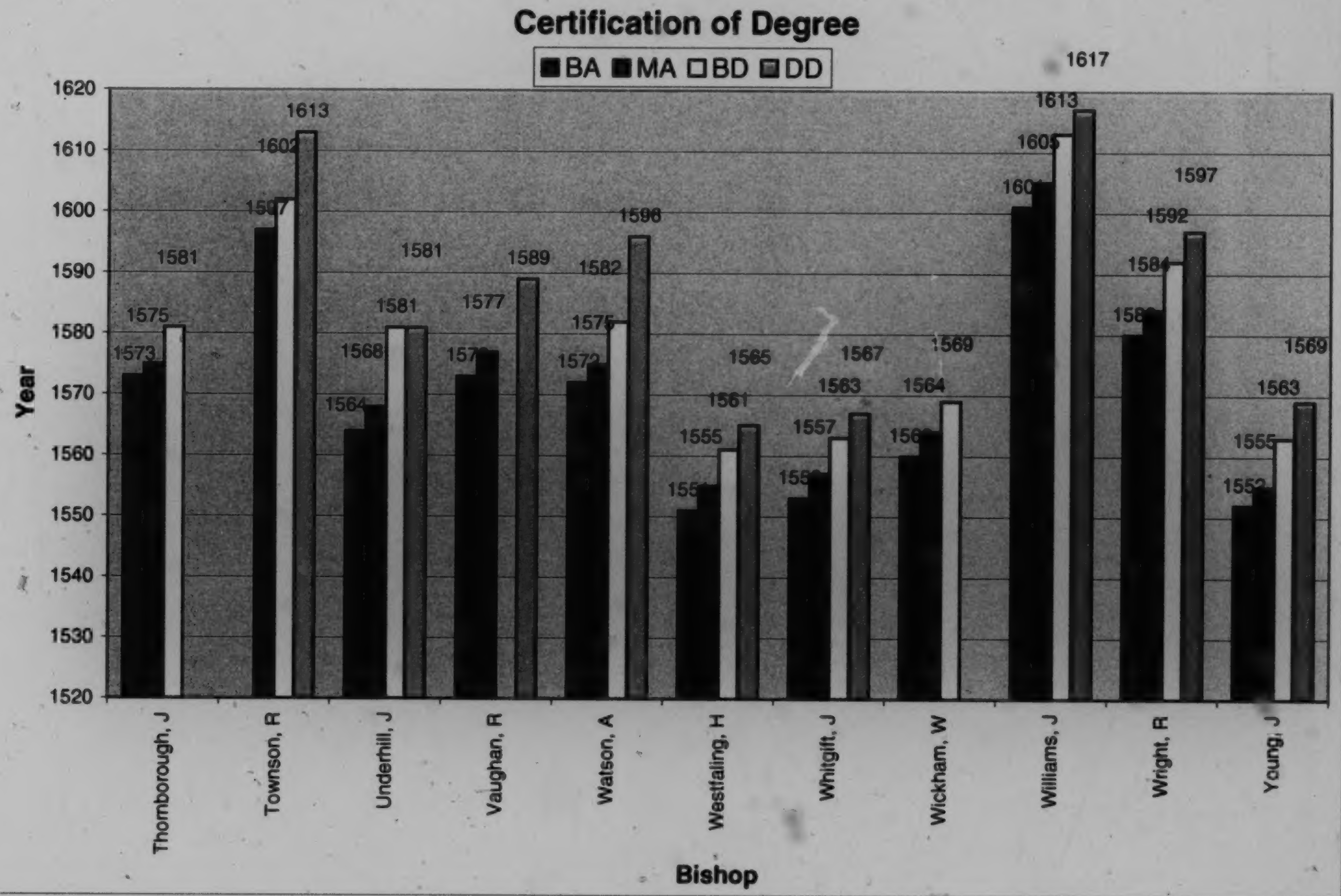


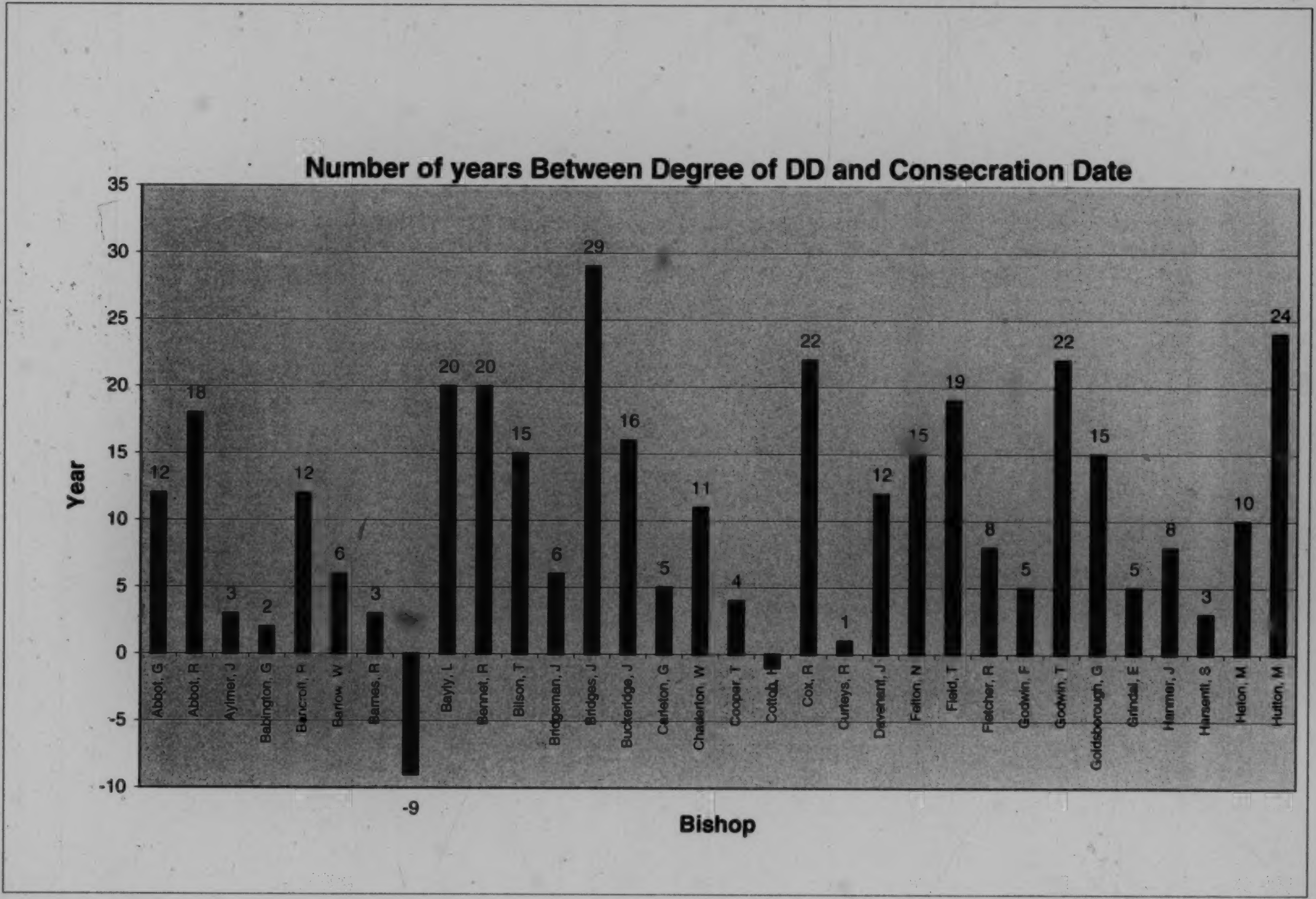
Certification of Degree

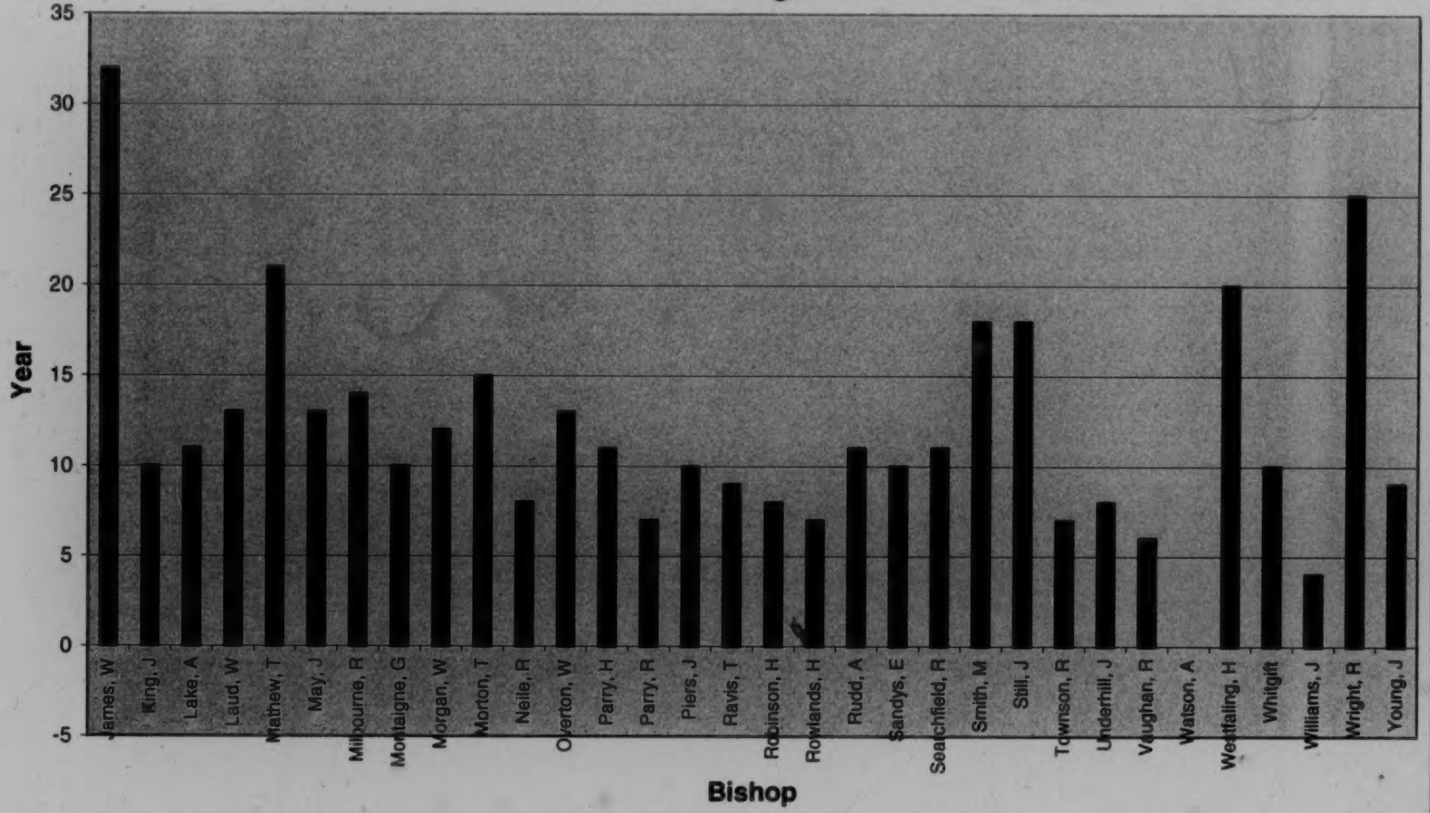


Certification of Degree


Certification of Degree
■BA ■MA □BD ▨DD
Year
1620
1610
1600
1590
1580
1570
1560
1550
1540
1530
1520
Ravis, T
Robinson, H
Rowlands, H
Rudd, A
Sandys, E
Scory, J
Searchfield, R
Senhouse, R
Smith, M
Still, J
Bishop
157
1582
1589
1595
1572
1575
1582
1590
1574
1577
1591
1605
156
1570
1577
1583
1539
1541
1547
1549
1531
158
1590
1597
1608
1598
1606
1573
1576
1585
1594
156
1565
1570
1575


Certification of Degree
■BA ■MA □BD ▨DD
Year
1620
1610
1600
1590
1580
1570
1560
1550
1540
1530
1520
1573
1575
1581
1597
1602
1613
1564
1568
1581
1581
157
1577
1589
1572
1575
1582
1596
155
1555
1561
1565
155
1557
1563
1567
156
1564
1569
160
1605
1613
1617
158
1584
1592
1597
1552
1555
1563
1569
Thornborough, J
Townson, R
Underhill, J
Vaughan, R
Watson, A
Westfaling, H
Whitgift, J
Wickham, W
Williams, J
Wright, R
Young, J
Bishop


Number of years Between Degree of DD and Consecration Date
Year
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
-5
-10
Bishop
Abbot, G
12
Abbot, R
18
Aylmer, J
3
Babington, G
2
Bancroft, R
12
Barlow, W
6
Barnes, R
3
-9
Bayly, L
20
Bennet, R
20
Bilson, T
15
Bridgeman, J
6
Bridges, J
29
Buckeridge, J
16
Carleton, G
5
Chaderton, W
11
Cooper, T
4
Cotton, H
Cox, R
22
Curteys, R
1
Davenant, J
12
Felton, N
15
Field, T
19
Fletcher, R
8
Godwin, F
5
Godwin, T
22
Goldsborough, G
15
Grindal, E
5
Harmer, J
8
Harsentt, S
3
Heton, M
10
Hutton, M
24



Number of Years Between Degree of DD and Consecration Date

University Advancements

George Abbot

1. 1597 licensed to proceed in Divinity
2. 1597 Master of University College
3. 1600 Vice-Chancellor of the university [reappointed 1603 and 1605]

Robert Abbot

1. 16 Jan 1581 Socius Sacerdotalis of Balliol College
2. Lecturer in the city of Worcester
3. Appointed lecturer of both St. Martin's Church, Oxford and Abingdon, Berkshire
4. 1609 Master of his own college in Oxford
5. Fellow of Chelsea college
6. 1612-15 Appointed by James I as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford
7. 1588 Resigned fellowship

Lancelot Andrewes

1. Catechist at Pembroke
2. 1598 Master

Richard Bancroft

1. 1608 Chancellor of the University of Oxford

John Buckeridge

1. 1605-11 Presidentship of St. John's college, Cambridge

Valentine Carey

1. 1610 Master of Christ College
2. Chancellorship of the cathedral

William Chaderton

1. 1567 Succeeded Whitgift as Lady Margaret professor of Divinity
2. 1568 President of Queens College
3. 1569 Succeeded Whitgift as Regius Professor of Divinity
4. 1579 Resigned Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and President of Queen's college

Thomas Cooper

1. 1567-70 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford
2. Master of his college [Magdalen, Oxford]

Richard Cox

1. Master of Eton school
2. 1547 Chancellor of the University of Oxford

Richard Curteys

1. 1563 One of the proctors of St. John's college, Cambridge
2. 1566 One of the preachers of St. John's college, Cambridge

John Davenant

1. 1609 Margaret Professor of Divinity
2. 1614 Master of his college [Queen's college, Cambridge]

Nicholas Felton

1. 1589 Greek lecturer
2. 1616-7 Mastership of his college

Edmund Grindal

1. 1548-9 Proctor of the University of Oxford
2. Lady Margaret preacher
3. 1559 Master of Pembroke Hall

John Hammer

1. 1605 Proctor of Oriel college, Oxford

Samuel Harsnett

1. 1605 Master of Pembroke Hall

Martin Heton

1. 1588 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University

John Howson

1. 1602 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University

Mathew Hutton

1. 1561 Margaret Professor of Divinity
2. 1562 Master of Pembroke Hall
3. 1562 Regius Professor of Divinity

William James

1. 1571 Divinity reader at Magdalen
2. 1572 Master of University College
3. 1581 and 1590 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford

John Jegon

1. 1590 Mastership of Corpus Christi
2. 1596-7, 97-8, 1600-1 Vice-Chancellor

John King

1. 1607-10 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University

Arthur Lake

1. 1616 Vice-Chancellor

William Laud

1. 1593 Proctor
2. 1598 Grammar reader at the University
3. 1611-21 President of his college
4. 1630-1 Chancellor
5. 1633 Chancellor of Dublin

Tobias Mathew

1. 1569 Public Orator of the university
2. 1577 President of St. John's college
3. 1579 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University

John May

1. 1559 Master of Catherine Hall
2. 1569 Vice-Chancellor

George Montaigne

1. 1600 Proctor
2. 1607 Professor of Divinity at Gresham college, London

Thomas Morton

1. University lecturer in Logic
2. 1610 Nominated for one of the seventeen fellowships in the abortive college to the established at Chelsea for study of controversial divinity

John Overall

1. 1586 Fourth lecturer; 1585 Third Praelector; 1586 Praelector Graecus; 1595 Praelector Mathematicus
2. 1596 Regius Professor of Theology

Henry Parry

1. Office of Greek reader at his college [Corpus Christi, Oxford]

Richard Parry

1. Master of Ruthin Free School

John Piers

1. 1570-1 Master of Balliol college, Oxford
2. Divinity Reader of Magdalen college, Oxford

Thomas Ravis

1. 1588 Proctor of this college [Christ Church, Oxford]
2. 1589 Reader of Sentences
3. 1597 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University

Henry Robinson

1. 1581 Provost of Queen's college

Edwin Sandys

1. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University
2. 1547 Master of Catherine Hall

Richard Searchfield

1. 1596 Proctor of the University of Oxford

John Still

1. 1570 Lady Margaret Professor of the University
2. 1572 Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity
3. 1574 Master of St. John's college, Cambridge
4. 1575 Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University
5. 1577 Mastership translated to Trinity College

John Underhill

1. 1570 Praelector of moral philosophy

2. 1575 Proctor of the University

Herbert Westfaling

1. 1561 Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and reader of sentences
2. 1576 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University

John Whitgift

1. 1563 Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity
2. 1567 Master of Trinity College
3. 1567 Regius Professor of Divinity
4. 1567 Master of Pembroke Hall
5. 1573 Vice-Chancellor of the University

John Young

1. 1567 Master of Pembroke Hall
2. 1569 Vice-Chancellor

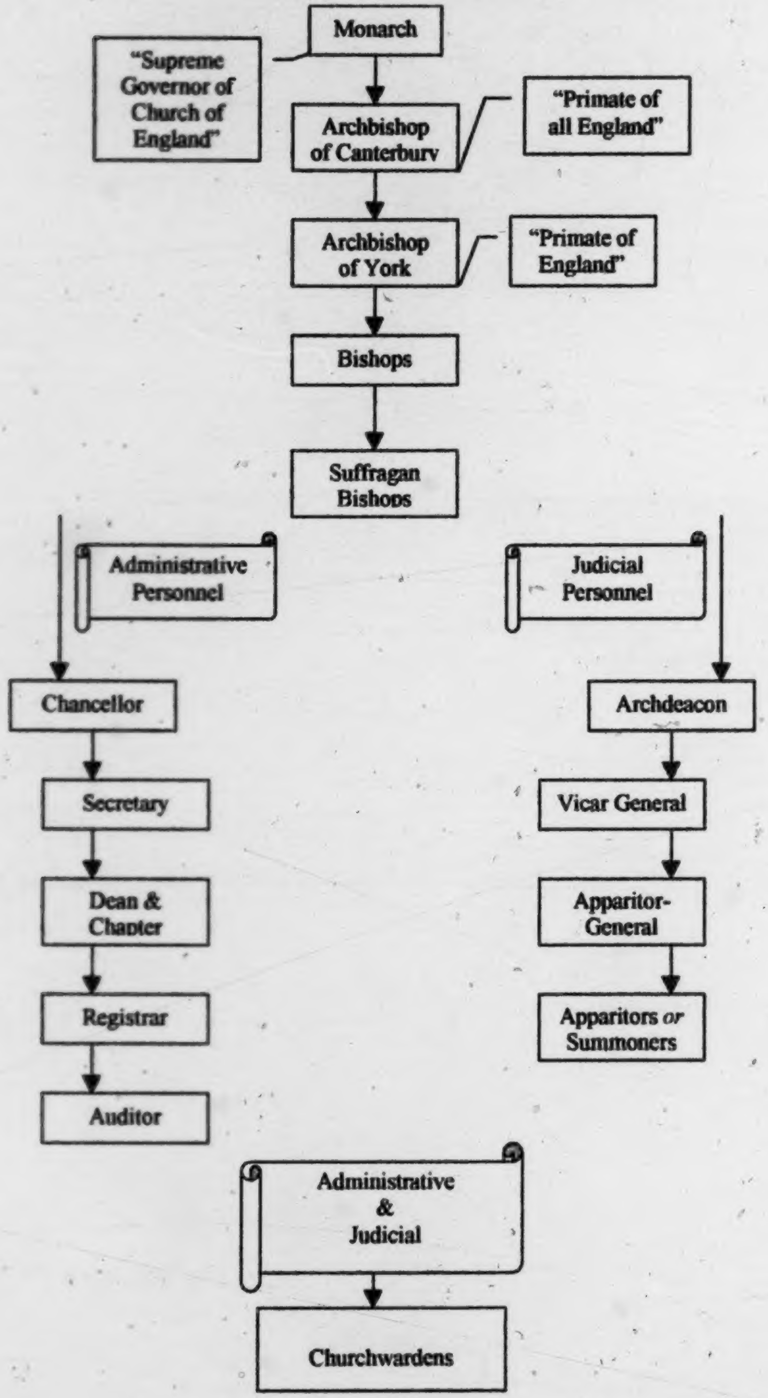
APPENDIX IV

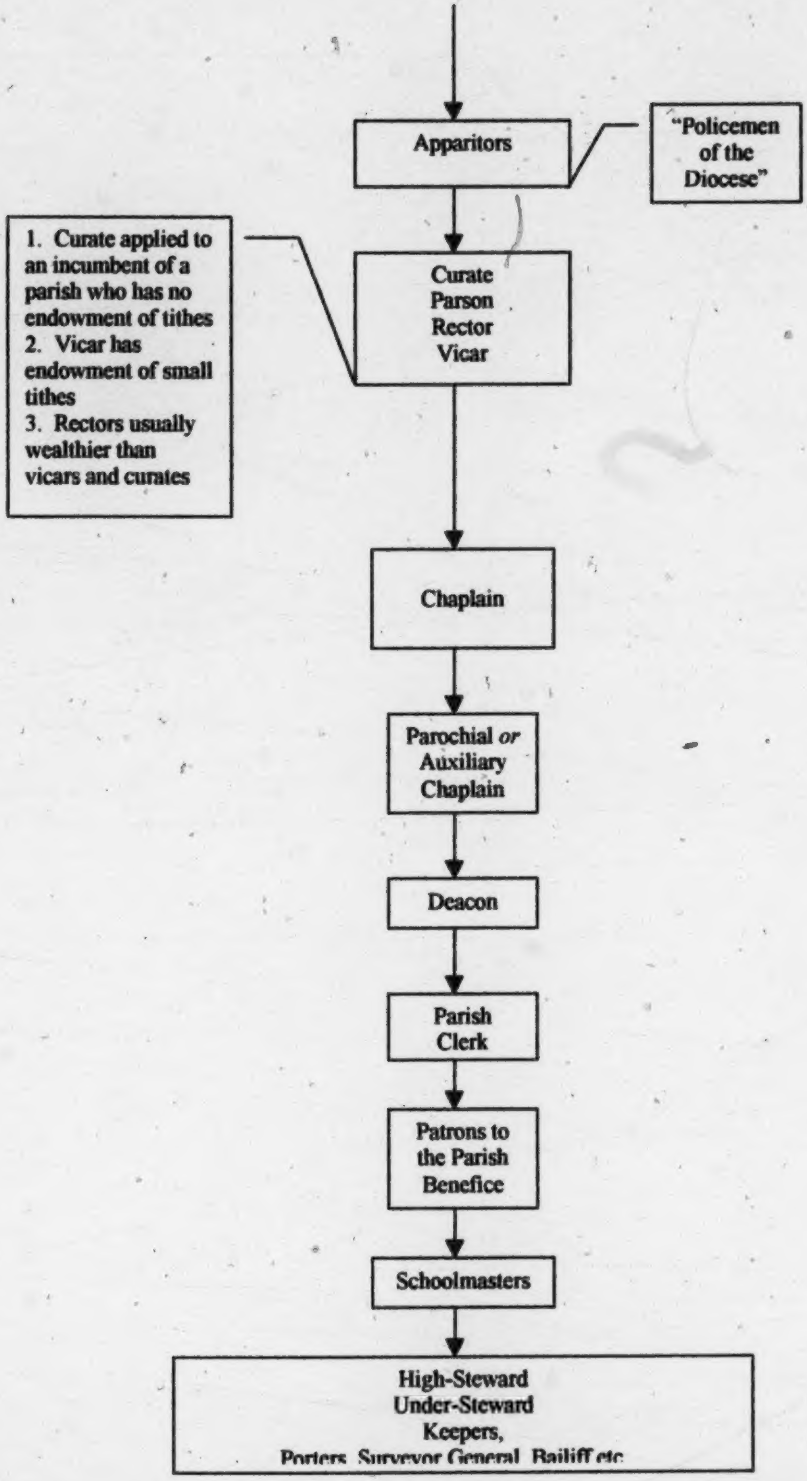
DIOCESAN ADMINISTRATION

The information in the first three tables is presented in a format that is hierarchical and static. This structure was chosen as a means for illustrating the general hierarchical (and relational) structure that existed among ecclesiastical personnel and is in no way indicative of the lack of fluidity and complexity of relation and patronage systems that existed among church officials.

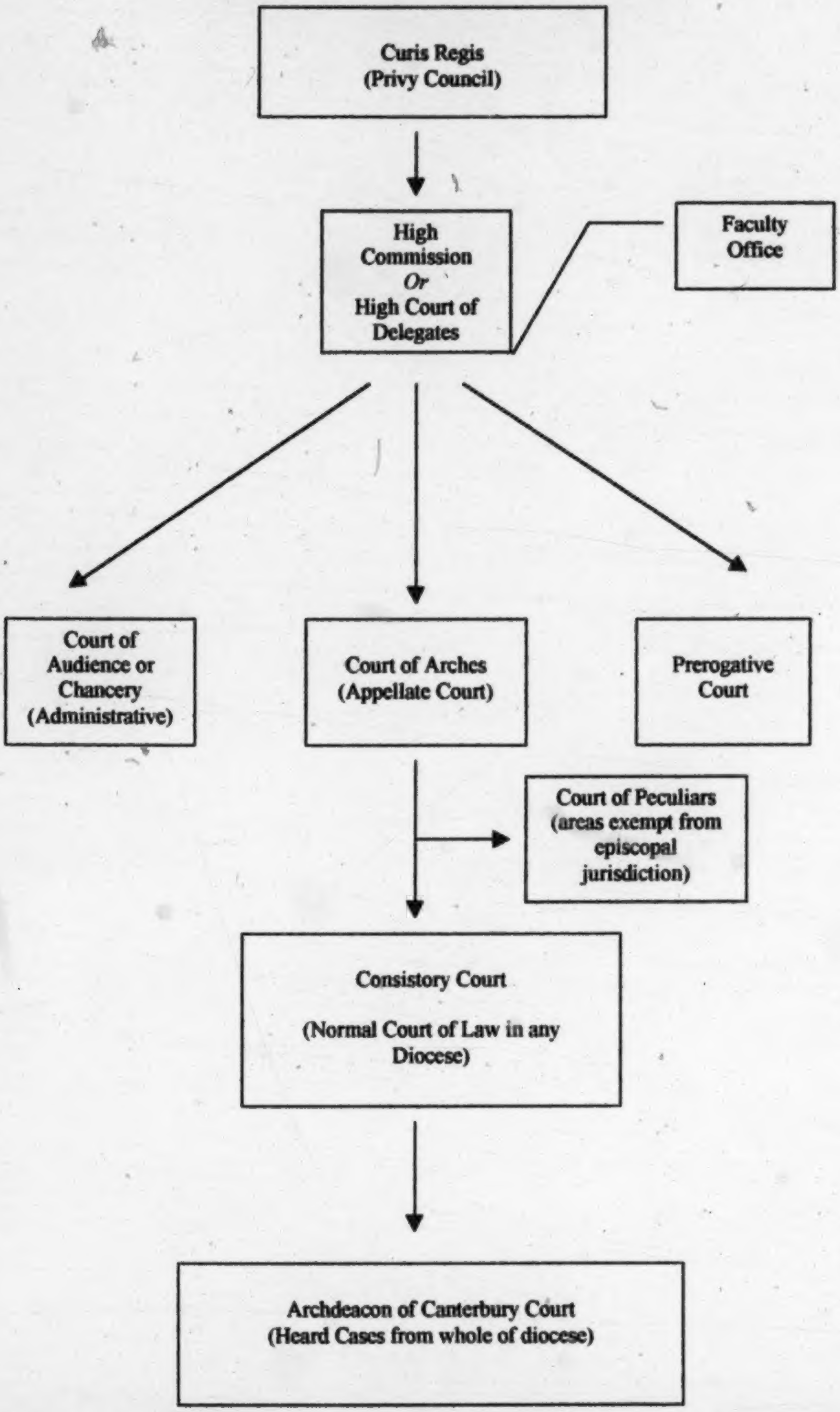
1. Table I — Ecclesiastical Structure of Personnel — 183
2. Table II — Court Structure in the Province of Canterbury — 185
3. Table III — Ecclesiastical Courts in the Province of York — 186
4. Table IV — Episcopal Administrative Positions — 187

Ecclesiastical Structure of Personnel

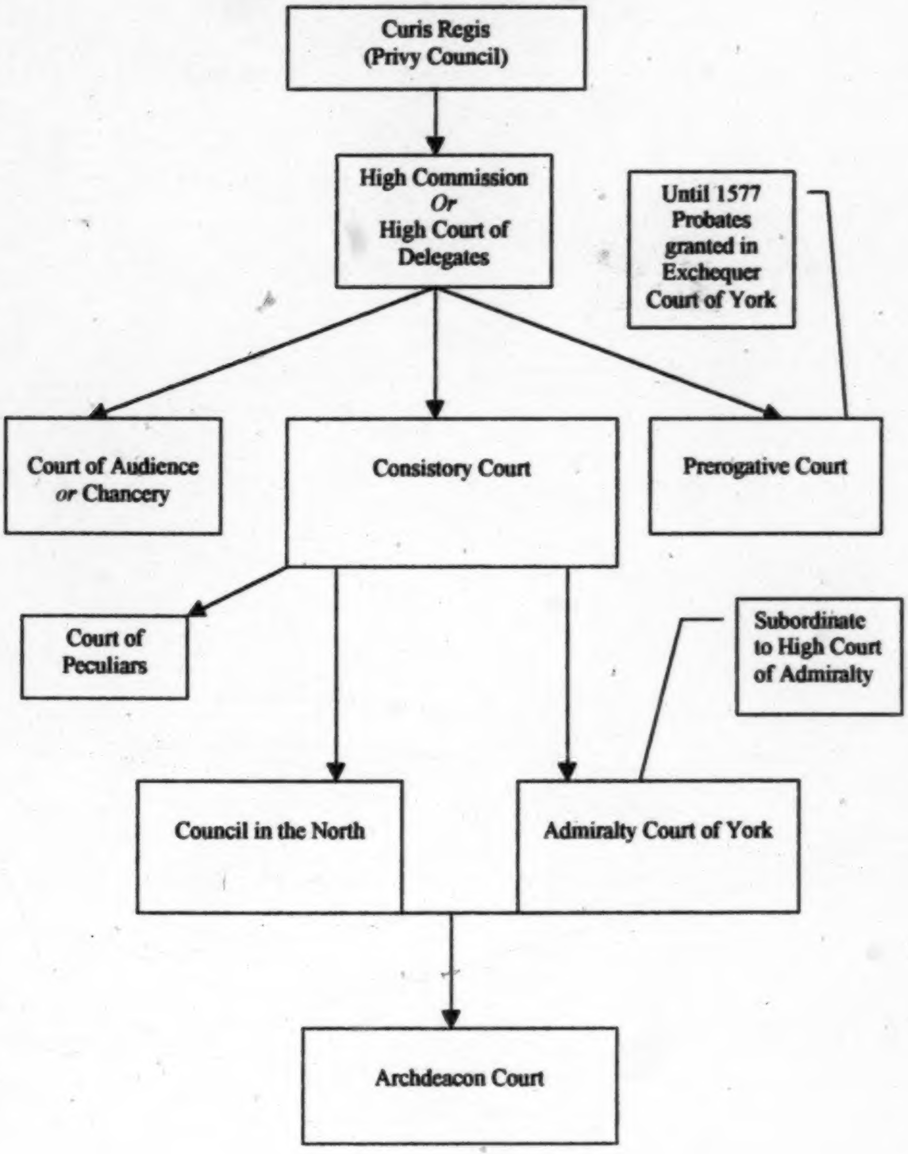



Apparitors
"Policemen of the Diocese"
1. Curate applied to an incumbent of a parish who has no endowment of tithes
2. Vicar has endowment of small tithes
3. Rectors usually wealthier than vicars and curates
Curate
Parson
Rector
Vicar
Chaplain
Parochial *or* Auxiliary Chaplain
Deacon
Parish Clerk
Patrons to the Parish Benefice
Schoolmasters
High-Steward
Under-Steward
Keepers,
Porters, Surveyor General, Bailiff etc.

Court Structure in the Province of Canterbury


Curis Regis
(Privy Council)
High Commission *Or* High Court of Delegates
Faculty Office
Court of Audience or Chancery (Administrative)
Court of Arches (Appellate Court)
Prerogative Court
Court of Peculiars (areas exempt from episcopal jurisdiction)
Consistory Court
(Normal Court of Law in any Diocese)
Archdeacon of Canterbury Court
(Heard Cases from whole of diocese)

Ecclesiastical Courts in the Province of York



Administrative Positions

Bishop	Ecclesiastical Positions	Academic Positions	Political State Positions
William Chaderton	1. 1568 Rector of West Riding, York 2. Rector of Bangor 3. 1574 Prebend of Fenton, Yorkminster 4. Prebend of Westminster 5. 1575 Archdeacon of York and of Winchester 6. 1576 Canon in church of Westminster 7. 1579 Bishop of Chichester 8. 1595 Bishop of Lincoln	1. 1567 Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity 2. 1568 President of Queen's College 3. 1569 Regius Professor of Divinity 4. Wardship of Manchester	1. Chaplain to Earl of Leicester 2. Chaplain to Lord Burghley
John King	1. 1580 Rector of St. Anne and St. Agnus, London 2. 1580 Canon of Windsor 3. 1590-1611 Prebend of Sneating in the church of St. Paul 4. 1590-1611 Archdeacon of Nottingham 5. 1597 Rector of St. Andrews, Holborn 6. 1599 Rector of Black Notley, Essex 7. 1605-11 Dean of Christ Church 8. 1611 Bishop of London	1. 1607-10 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University	1. Chaplain to Sir Thomas Egerton [Lord Keeper of the Great Seal] 2. Chaplain to John Piers 3. Chaplain to Elizabeth I 4. Chaplain to James I
John Williams	1. 1605-10 Rector of Honington, Suffolk 2. 1610-12 Rector of Dodinghurst, Essex 3. 1610 Archdeacon of Cardingany 4. 1611-21 Rector of Grafton Underwood, Northamptonshire 5. 1612 Prebend of Hereford 6. 1613 Archdeacon of Carmarthen 7. 1613 Prebend of Asgarby in Lincoln Cathedral 8. 1614 Rector of Walgrave 9. 1616 Prebend of Peterborough Cathedral 10. 1619 Dean of Salisbury 11. 1620 Dean of Westminster 12. 1621 Bishop of Lincoln 13. 1641 Archbishop of York	1. 1611 University Proctor	1. Chaplain to Lord Thomas Egerton [Lord Chancellor] 2. Chaplain to Duke of Buckingham

Bishop	Ecclesiastical Positions	Academic Positions	Political State Positions
John Still	1. Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk 2. 1572 Canon of Westminster 3. 1572 Dean of Bocking 4. 1573 Vicar of East Markham, Nottinghamshire 5. 1576 Archdeacon of Sudbury 6. 1593 Bishop of Bath and Wells	1. 1570 Margaret Professor of the University 2. 1572 Margaret Professor of Divinity 3. 1574 Master of St. John's College, Cambridge 4. 1575 Vice-chancellor of Cambridge 5. 1577 Mastership translated to Trinity College, Cambridge	1. Chaplain to Archbishop Parker

APPENDIX V

PREFERMENTS

1.	Table I	Political Involvement	190
2.	Table II	Other Ecclesiastical and Secular Preferments	198
3.	Table III	Patrons	201

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

George Abbot

James I

1. Employed spies in all parts of England and did not fear to attack men in the highest stations
2. Came into conflict with the Spanish ambassador as he imprisoned in his palace the lady Donna Luisa de Carvajal, an enthusiastic benefactress of the English Catholic college of Flanders
3. Approved the use of torture [Legate's Law 1614]
4. Persuaded James I to use all of his influence against Roman Catholicism in every country of Europe and attacked Arminianism in Holland
5. In Ireland Abbot discouraged any conciliatory policy towards the Catholics
6. His foreign political policy was to crush Spain and to be wary of France
7. He came into conflict twice with James I and never retained his full confidence
8. Wanted England to join elector's war
9. Accidentally killed Peter Hawkins, the gamekeeper, while hunting. This affected how others saw Abbot until his death. He was brought to trial but James I signed his formal petition in 1621.
10. In 1623 he took part in a conference between the lords and commons as to the relations of England and Spain
11. In April 1628 he declared himself opposed to the king's claim of power to commit persons to prison without showing cause. After this he was sequestered and lived in retirement.
12. Succession of Charles I resulted in Abbot's loss of power as Charles preferred bishop Laud.
13. One of the privy councilors

Robert Abbot

James I

1. One of the privy councilors

Lancelot Andrewes

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court Conference
2. Probably took part in sanctioning the burning of Arian, Leggat
3. Never interfered in public affairs, either as a privy councilor or in any other capacity except when the spiritual interest of the church seemed to him to be at stake

John Aylmer

Elizabeth I

1. Tutor of Lady Jane Grey
2. One of the eight divines to hold a disputation at Westminster with a corresponding number of Roman Catholics
3. Sat in 1562 convocation and subscribed to the thirty-nine articles
4. Queen Elizabeth I's almoner

Gervase Babington

Elizabeth I

1. 1593 Member of the Council of Marches [vice-president]

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court Conference

Richard Bancroft

Elizabeth I

1. In 1600 Bancroft, with Dr. Perkins and Dr. Swale, formed a diplomatic mission to Embden to confer with ambassadors from Denmark respecting certain matters in dispute with the two nations
2. Roused support against Earl of Essex in London
3. One of the privy councilors

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court Conference and showed hostility to the puritan party
2. In 1606 he brought forward in the House of Lords for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the laws in force for the preservation of religion, protection of the king and the maintenance of the commonwealth, including two measures directed against popish recusants.
3. Founded Chelsea college which proved to be a failure when the episcopal office was abolished
4. One of the privy councilors
5. 1610 parliament – provision for betterment of the clergy

William Barlow

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court Conference against the puritans

Lewis Bayly

James I

1. In 1619 he was reprimanded by the council and in 1621 was imprisoned for a short time either for his opposition to the Spanish marriage or for his aversion to the 'Book of Sports'
2. In 1626 Laud charged him holding puritan beliefs

Hugh Bellot

Elizabeth I

1. One of the councilors of Wales

Thomas Bilson

Elizabeth I

1. Given the task, by Elizabeth I, to aid Protestant Holland

James I

1. Privy Councilor

John Bridges

Elizabeth I

1. Immediate cause of the Martin Mar-Prelate controversy

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court Conference

John Buckeridge

James I

1. One of four divines [including Andrewes, Barlow and King] selected to preach at the Hampton Court Conference

Valentine Carey

James I

1. The king wanted him to be JP for Exeter city but the mayor and alderman were against this

George Carleton

James I

1. One of the three representing England at the Synod of Dort

Thomas Cooper

Elizabeth I

1. Cooper replied to the Martin Mar-Prelate tracts

Richard Cox

Elizabeth I

1. Privy councilor
2. Master of Requests

Richard Curteys

Elizabeth I

1. In 1577 three gentrymen exhibited articles against Curteys

John Davenant

James I

1. Selected with Carleton, Dr. Wood and Dr. Hall to represent the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, Holland in 1618 to settle the dispute with Arminians and Calvnists

Thomas Dove

James I

1. Rarely missed appearing at the House of Lords in twenty years
2. One of nine bishops representing the church party at the Hampton Court Conference
3. In 1611 and 1614 he was charged with remissness in allowing silenced ministers to preach
4. Remiss in complying with orders on instructions from the court of the archbishop

Theolphilus Field

James I

1. In 1621 he was impeached by Commons for brocarage and bribery before his promotion

Richard Fletcher

Elizabeth I

1. Due to his second marriage he was forbidden at court and suspended from the exercise of al episcopal functions
2. Queen Elizabeth I's almoner

Godfrey Goodman

James I

1. In 1625 he offended the king by declining to take a hint for his secretary in the choice of a chancellor
2. Many charges were brought against him because of his popish tendencies
3. Bribed court officials to be elected to the see of Hereford
4. Was sent to the tower with eleven other bishops

Edmund Grindal

Elizabeth I

1. Appointed by parliament to inspect the manners of the clergy

Samuel Harsnett

James I

1. In 1624 the Commons accused him of several misdemeanours

Charles I

1. In 1629 he was sworn of the privy councilor

John King

James I

1. One of the four preachers at the Hampton Court Conference

William Laud

Charles I

1. 1625 Deputy Clerk of the Closet
2. One of the privy councilors
3. 1633 Councilor of Scotland
4. 1635 One of the commissioners of the exchequers

Tobias Mathew

Elizabeth I

1. Sat in court of High Commission

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court conference
2. After becoming the archbishop of York his political activity increased
3. There were sixteen bishops who voted in the Lords, however, Mathew was the only bishop who voted in the lower house

George Montaigne

James I

1. Montaigne and Andrewes presented in the name of other prelates a grant of subsidies passed by the clergy of the province of Canterbury to the king at the Hampton court conference

Thomas Morton

Elizabeth I

1. Lord President of the North

James I

1. Member of the Council of Marches [vice-president]
2. In 1641 he took part in Williams' ill-advised protest against the legality of all acts passed in the enforced absence of spiritual lords. Eleven bishops were sent to the tower.

Richard Neile

James I

1. Attacked the House of Commons in favour of royal prerogative
2. 1627 sworn of the privy council
3. Regularly sat on high commission and star chamber

John Overall

James I

1. Spoke at the Hampton Court Conference and won the approval of James I
2. 1605 prolocutor of the lower house
3. Drew up canons and constitutions relating to the civil government [396 canons]

John Piers

Elizabeth I

1. One of Queen Elizabeth I's almoners

Thomas Ravis

James I

1. Compelled members of the college to forgo their allowance to the Commons in exchange for two shillings a week
2. One of Six Deans present at the Hampton Court Conference

Henry Robinson

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court Conference

Anthony Rudd

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court Conference

Edwin Sandys

Elizabeth I

1. Bishop Aylmer sued him for dilapidations

Anthony Watson

Elizabeth I

1. One of Queen Elizabeth I's almoners

James I

1. Held office of Lord Almoner at Hampton Court conference

John Whitgift

Elizabeth I

1. Vice-president of the Marches in Wales
2. 1586 star chamber decree rendering public criticism impossible
3. 1586 privy council and regularly attended
4. Given the authority to nominate JP's for Warwick

James I

1. Took part in the Hampton Court Conference

John Williams

James I

1. 1621 political council to Buckingham to overthrow the monopolists
2. James I selected him for the lord-keepership after Bacon's fall only until 1625 when he fell out of favour with Buckingham and Charles I

Charles I

1. In 1628 he was on the side of the commons after the Lords refused his amends
2. 1633 sentenced by the star chamber for subordination of perjury after which he refused to go to Wales or Ireland and found himself before the star chamber again in 1639
3. In the House of Lords he was the leader of the party of compromise between admirers of the Book of Common Prayer and extreme Puritans
4. One of the five bishops who declared Strafford to be arrested by attainder
5. Attempted to pass a bill on the reform of the church
6. He and eleven other bishops were sent to the tower because they rejected the Lord's ability to pass laws during the absence of the bishops

Robert Wright

Charles I

1. One of eleven bishops sent to the tower

OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR PREFERMENTS

George Abbot

Secular Preferments

1. 30 April, 1611 – High Commission Court
2. 23 June, 1611 – Sworn at Greenwich of the Privy Council

Lancelot Andrewes

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. Refused sees of Ely and Salisbury during the reign of Elizabeth I because the offer in each case was coupled with the condition that he should consent to the alienation of part of the revenues

Secular Preferments

2. James I's almoner
3. 1619 Dean of the Chapel Royal
4. Privy Councilor for England 1609 and for Scotland 1617

George Babington

Secular Preferments

1. 28 January 1589 – Treasurer of Llandaff [by his patron the Earl of Montgomery]

Richard Bancroft

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. April 1585 - Treasurer of St. Pauls

Richard Barnes

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. 1561 – Chancellor of York Minster

Richard Bennet

Secular Preferments

1. 1583 – Master of the hospital of St. Cross, Winchester
2. April 1595 – Order of the Garter

Richard Fletcher

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. 1574 – Minister of Rye, Sussex

Secular Preferments

1. 19 June, 1575 – Presented to living of Bradenham, Buckinghamshire by Elizabeth I

George Montaigne

Secular Preferments

1. Lord High Almoner

William Overton

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. 1567 – Treasurer of Chichester Cathedral

Richard Parry

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. 1594 – Chancellor of Bangor

Secular Preferments

1. Master of Ruthin Free School

Henry Rowlands

Secular Preferments

1. 1599 – Mastership of Eastgate hospital, Canterbury

Miles Smith

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. 1576 – Chaplain of Christ Church

Anthony Watson

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. 1592 – Chancellor of the Church of Wells

Secular Preferments

1. 1595 – Almoner to Elizabeth I

Herbert Westfaling

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. 1567 – Treasurer of the Diocese of London

John Whitgift

Secular Preferments

1. Mastership of Savoy hospital

Robert Wright

Ecclesiastical Preferments

1. 1601 – Treasurer of Wells

PATRONS

George Abbot

Lord Buckhurst [who succeeded Lord Burghley as Lord High Treasurer 1599]
Earl of Dorset
Chaplain to Earl of Dunbar [High Lord Treasurer of Scotland]
George Hume

Richard Abbot

John Stanhope, esquire
Archbishop Bancroft
Chaplain to James I

Lancelot Andrewes

Earl of Huntingdon [President of the North]
Chaplain to Whitgift

John Aylmer

Chaplain to Henry Grey [Duke of Suffolk]
Earl of Huntingdon

Gervase Babington

Earls of Montgomery
Chaplain to Henry [Earl of Pembroke]

Richard Bancroft

Chaplain to bishop Richard Cox
Chaplain to archbishop Whitgift

William Barlow

Archbishop Whitgift
Archbishop Bancroft

Richard Barnes

Lord Burghley

Lewis Bayly

Chaplain to Prince Henry
Chaplain to James I

Richard Bennet

Chaplain to Lord Burghley

John Bridgeman

Chaplain to James I

John Buckeridge

Chaplain to Robert Devereux
Chaplain to archbishop Whitgift
Chaplain to James I

William Chaderton

Chaplain to the Earl of Leicester
William Cecil

John Coldwell

Chaplain to archbishop Parker [performed medical and clerical duties]

Richard Cox

Chaplain to Henry VIII
Chaplain to archbishop Cranmer
Chaplain to bishop Goodrich
Chaplain to Edward VI

Richard Curteys

Chaplain to archbishop Parker
Chaplain to Elizabeth I

Thomas Dove

Chaplain to Elizabeth I

Theophilus Field

Chaplain to Lord Chancellor Bacon
Support of Buckingham
Chaplain to James I

Richard Fletcher

Chaplain to archbishop Whitgift
Chaplain to Elizabeth I

Godfrey Goodman

Chaplain to Elizabeth I

Edmund Grindal

Chaplain to bishop Ridley

John Hanmer

Chaplain to James I

Samuel Harsnett

Chaplain to archbishop Bancroft

William James

Chaplain to Earl of Leicester

John King

Chaplain to sir Thomas Egerton [Lord Keeper of the great seal]
Chaplain to Elizabeth I
Chaplain to John Piers
Chaplain to James I

William Laud

Chaplain to James I
Chaplain to Charles Blount [Earl of Devonshire]
Chaplain to bishop Neile

Tobias Mathew

Chaplain to Elizabeth I

John May

Earl of Shrewsbury
Archbishop Parker

George Montaigne

Chaplain to Robert Devereux
Chaplain to George Cadiz
Chaplain to Robert Cecil

William Morgan

Chaplain to archbishop Whitgift

Thomas Morton

Chaplain to Lord Huntingdon
Chaplain to Roger Manners [Earl of Rutland]

Richard Neile

Chaplain to Lord Burghley and his son Robert Cecil
Patron of bishop John Cosin
Patron of bishop Richard Montague

Henry Parry

Chaplain to Elizabeth I

John Phillips

Chaplain to Henry Stanley [4th Earl of Derby]

John Piers

Support of Elizabeth I

Henry Robinson

Chaplain to Edmund Grindal

John Scory

Chaplain to bishop Ridley
Patronage of archbishop Cranmer

Richard Senhouse

Chaplain to Earl of Bedford
Chaplain to James I
Chaplain to Charles I

John Still

Archbishop Parker

John Thornborough

Chaplain to Henry Herbert [2nd Earl of Pembroke]
Chaplain to Elizabeth I

John Underhill

Chaplain to Elizabeth I
Patronage of Francis Walsingham

Richard Vaughan

Chaplain to Lord Keeper Puckering
Chaplain to bishop Aylmer
Chaplain to Elizabeth I

John Whitgift

Chaplain to bishop Cox

William Wickham

Patronage of archbishop Whitgift

John Williams

Support of Buckingham
Chaplain to Lord Thomas Egerton [Lord Chancellor]

Robert Wright

Chaplain to Elizabeth I
Chaplain to James I

John Young

Chaplain to Edmund Grindal

APPENDIX VI

The following is an excerpt from bishop Fotherby's 1619 visitation articles. The spaces in section six were left as they appear in the articles.

1. Table I Fotherby's Articles Concerning Ecclesiastical Officers 207

ARTICLES CONCERNING ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICERS

1 Whether do you know or have heard of any payment, composition, or agreement to, or any their Registers or officers Ecclesiasticall, for suppressing or concealing of excommunication, or other Ecclesiastical censure, of, or against any Recusants. What summe of money or other consideration hath beene received, or promised by, or to any of them for concealing of them by whom and with whoms.

2 Whether any using Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction in this Dioces, their Registers, Aduaries, Apparitors, or Summoners, have at any time winked at, and suffered any adulterers, fornicators, incests, or other faults or offences presented unto them, to passe and remaine unpunished shed and uncorrected, for money, rewards, bribes, pleasure, friendship, or any other partiall respect.

3 Whether hath any exercising ecclesiasticall jurisdiction within this Dioces, or any Register, Apparitor, or Minister belonging to the Ecclesiasticall courts, exacted extraordinarie or greater fees then heretofore of late have beene accustomed? And whether is there a Table of the rates of al fees set up in severall courts and offices, or whether they or any of them have taken upon them the office of Informers or Promoters to the courtes, or any other way abused themselves in their offices contrary to the law and canons in that case provided?

4 Item, are your Ecclesiasticall Judges and their substitutes masters of Arts, or Batchellors of the Law at the least, learned and practiced in the civill and ecclesiasticall lawes, men of good life and fame, zealouslie affected in Religion and iust and upright in executing their offices? Have they heard any matter of office privately in their chambers, without their sworne Registers, or their Deputies presence to bestow the same *in pios usus*, and how hath the same beene bestowed?

5 Item, what number of Apparitors hath every severall iudge Ecclesiastical, and wherein, and in what manner is the country over-burdened with them? And whether have they caused, or summoned any to appeare in the said courts without a presentment or a citation first had, or whether have they threatened any to prosecute them in the said courts, if they would not give them some rewards? And what bribes in that behalf have they taken?

6 Whether hath there beene within your severall parishes since the day of last past any wills proved or administrations graunted by the Archdeacon and his Official? Or any knowne in continent persons? Or any suspected of that vice, or any other offenders whatsoever (having not before the said day of last past been duly presented by their Churchwardens) for the same beene called or cited by the Archdeacon or his Official? If yea, then you must present their names, and their offences, now at this visitation, for that since the said day of last the Archdeacons authoritie was restrained and suspended by inhibition, and al jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall ever since hath beene in the Lord Bishop

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